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ABSTRACT

Symposium organizers commissioned papers that examined existing Chicano research in studies of family, labor, and migration, three subjects continually recurring in Chicano research. The papers were organized in four sessions: historical and contemporary research on Chicano workers, foundations of research on Chicano families, Chicano domestic and international migration, and Chicano research and public policy. In each session, two presenters addressed guiding theoretical perspectives, major methodological approaches, and central problems and deficiencies of the research and two discussants addressed future research, the need and prospects for interdisciplinary research, and the role of basic social research in policy formation. Papers and commentaries addressed urban Chicano workers from an historical perspective, research on Chicano workers, traditions of research on Chicano workers, research on Chicano workers from a legal perspective, empirical and theoretical developments in Chicano family studies, conceptualization of history of the Chicano family, on-going research questions about the Chicano family, assessment of Chicano residential and internal migration patterns, paradigms for studying Mexican immigration, Hispanic underrepresentation in the federal bureaucracy, public policy development and the Chicano community, and public policy and the Chicano population. (SB)

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The State of Chicano Research in Family, Labor and Migration Studies

Proceedings of the First Stanford
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**The State of Chicano Research
on Family, Labor, and Migration:**

**Proceedings of the First Stanford Symposium
on Chicano Research and Public Policy**

Edited by

Armando Valdez, Albert Camarillo, and Tomás Almaguer

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Preface

Research on Chicanos—the Mexican-origin population in the U.S.—can be found since the end of the nineteenth century and follows the national agenda from territorial expansion in the nineteenth century to development of the Western lands and natural resources in the early twentieth century, from economic collapse in the 1930s to war mobilization and the post-war transition in the 1940s and 1950s. In the 1960s, as national policy brought the issues of racism, poverty, and inequity into sharp relief, research on Chicanos reflected these themes. Chicano population growth and language issues surfaced as prominent research subjects during the following decade as Chicanos gained broader national recognition and bilingual education became a topic of national controversy. A pattern evident in this body of research is the perception of Chicanos as a social problem of national concern.

The emergence of ethnic studies in colleges and universities in the mid-sixties introduced a new perspective to research on Chicanos. The need for textbooks and curriculum made the vast gaps in our knowledge about Chicanos evident. This condition led to the conduct of research to fill those gaps and to the reassessment of existing research paradigms. Concurrently, the development of ethnic studies created a new generation of scholars interested in Chicano research. As a consequence of these developments, what had been scattered and random studies now became integrated into a coherent framework under the rubric of Chicano studies.

In the past decade, the body of research literature on Chicanos has increased at a tremendous rate. While this dramatic growth partly reflects the sparse amount of research that previously existed, its significance is that it reflects the sustained development of scholarly work in this area.

This rate of growth has created a need to reflect and assess the nature and direction of Chicano research.

The first Stanford Symposium on Chicano Research and Public Policy represents an effort to assess the current state of knowledge in a manner that would suggest future research agendas and inherent policy questions and implications. This symposium was organized by the Stanford Center for Chicano Research (SCCR), whose mission is to conduct and foster research that significantly advances the available knowledge about the experience of Chicanos in the U.S. SCCR commissioned scholars to prepare papers for this symposium that examine the conceptualization, methodology, scientific rigor, and policy dimensions of existing Chicano research in the subjects of family, labor, and migration. These three areas of inquiry were selected because they have consistently been recurring themes in Chicano research and represent the most prevalent subjects in social science and humanities research on Chicanos to date.

The symposium was convened on March 3rd through 5th, 1982 and was organized into four sessions, three topical and one policy session. Each session included two presenters and two discussants for each of the three subject areas. One presenter traced the evolution of research on the subject. The other presenter assessed the current state of knowledge in that field. The discussants provided a critique of the presentations and commented on the policy implications of the available research.

In order to ensure systematic evaluation of critical issues in each subject area, the presenters were asked to address the following:

- the principal conceptual approaches or theoretical perspectives that presently guide Chicano research in the specified topics;
- the major methodological approaches currently employed by researchers in the respective disciplines that examine these topics;
- the central problems and deficiencies that exist in the current research literature for the three specified areas.

Discussants were asked to provide critical commentary on the presentations and to focus on the following:

- the important areas that will become – or should become – the focal point of future research in these areas;

- the need and prospects for interdisciplinary research in these subjects;
- the role of basic social research in the formulation of informed public policy.

One session focused entirely on public policy issues. Presentations in this session explored the relationship between social research and public policy, as well as salient policy research needs. This publication of the proceedings is organized into four sections that correspond to the four symposium sessions.

Acknowledgements

The publication of these proceedings is the culmination of a two year effort that began with the planning of the symposium. This entire project required the collaboration of many individuals whose efforts made the symposium and the publication of the proceedings possible. We want to express our gratitude to the following persons for their contributions in this effort:

Tomás Almaguer for his diligent assistance in planning and convening the symposium; Hector Montes for his tireless aid in coordinating the symposium; Adela Enochs, David Gutierrez and Robert Ortega for their enthusiastic help throughout the symposium; Lauren Nathan for her judicious care and attention to detail while inputting the initial manuscripts on the word processor; Patricia Zavella and Arturo Islas for their constructive editing suggestions for the manuscripts; Cindy Kalil for her conscientious efforts in formatting the reference section, proofreading the manuscripts, and entering revisions on the word processor; Chip Haven for his patience and competence in computer formatting and typesetting the manuscripts; Bob McCann for his invaluable assistance in the design of the book and cover; Teresa Saiz, Mary Closmann, and Donna Bertrand for their general assistance in preparing the manuscripts for publication; and finally to the authors themselves for their interest and cooperation in the publication of these proceedings.

Armando Valdez
Albert Camarillo

April 1983

Table of Contents

Part I Historical and Contemporary Research on Chicano Workers

Papers

1. Urban Chicano Workers in Historical Perspective: A Review of the Literature 3
Tomás Almaguer, Postdoctoral Fellow
Department of Sociology and
Center for Chicano Research
Stanford University
and
Albert Camarillo
Associate Professor of History
Director, Stanford Center for Chicano Research
Stanford University
2. Research on the Chicano Worker 33
Walter Fogel
Graduate School of Management
University of California, Los Angeles

Commentary

3. Traditions of Research on the Chicano Worker 51
Mario Barrera
Associate Professor
Department of Ethnic Studies
University of California, Berkeley
4. Research on Chicano Workers:
A Legal Perspective 75
Carmen Estrada
Director of Employment Litigation
Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund
San Francisco

Part II Foundations of Research on Chicano Families

Papers

5. Empirical and Theoretical Developments
in Studies of the Chicano Family 91
Lea Ybarra
La Raza Studies Department
California State University, Fresno
6. The Conceptualization of the History
of the Chicano Family 111
Alex Saragoza
Department of Chicano Studies
University of California, Berkeley

Commentary

7. Ongoing Questions in the Study of
Chicano Families 139
Maxine Baca Zinn
Department of Sociology
University of Michigan, Flint

Part III Chicano Domestic and International Migration

Papers

8. Residential Distribution and Internal Migration
Patterns of Chicanos: A Critical Assessment 149
Marta Tienda
Department of Rural Sociology
University of Wisconsin, Madison
9. Competing Paradigms for the Study of
Mexican Immigration 187
Wayne Cornelius
Director, Program in U.S.-Mexican Studies
University of California, San Diego

Commentary

10. The Study of Mexican Immigration 201

Gilbert Cartenas
Department of Sociology
University of Texas, Austin

Part IV Chicano Research and Public Policy**Papers**

11. Hispanic Underrepresentation in the
Federal Bureaucracy: The Missing Link in
the Policy Process 209

Harry Pachon
Department of Public Administration
Baruch College
City University of New York

12. Public Policy Development and the
Chicano Community 219

Raul Yzaguirre
President, National Council of La Raza
Washington, D.C.

13. Public Policy and the Chicano Population 229

Polly Baca Barragan
State Senator
State of Colorado

PART I

Historical and Contemporary Research
On Chicano Workers

**Urban Chicano Workers in Historical Perspective:
A Review of Recent Literature**

Tomás Almaguer and Albert Camarillo

A notable feature of recent research on Mexicans in the U.S. has been the attention given to the Chicano working class experience. Historians and other social scientists have made this one of the single most explored areas of research in this developing field of study. So far, these studies have focused on the historical development of the Chicano working class, the Mexican immigrant worker in the U.S., the incorporation of Mexican workers — both

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native and foreign born—into the twentieth-century urban labor markets, the participation of those workers in labor organizing and strike activity, and, finally, on the various aspects of the contemporary status of Chicano labor.¹

Making sense of the extant literature on Chicano labor is no small task. Delineating sub-topics can lead to a proliferation of divisions between urban-rural foci, studies by geographical areas (by locality, state, or region), by chronological periods, or by industrial sectors. The task becomes even more complicated when one assesses the recent research in light of the older, existing literature.

The intent of this paper is to assess only one small segment of this literature. It focuses on recent scholarly research on Chicano labor from 1848 to 1949. Since our primary concern is with the urban Chicano experience, we only comment briefly on the numerous important studies on Chicano workers in the rural context. Our historical discussion of Chicano labor concentrates on four major areas: (1) the development of the Chicano working class in the nineteenth-century, (2) Chicanos in the early twentieth-century urban occupational structure, (3) Chicano labor organizing and unionization, and (4) Chicana workers. We examine these areas with special attention to the major theoretical and methodological approaches used by researchers in the field.

The Development of the Chicano Working Class: The Nineteenth Century

The early studies by Paul S. Taylor (1928-1932), Manuel Gamio (1930), Emory Bogardus (1934), and others focus exclusively on the Mexican immigrant working class between 1900 and 1930. If one examines only the "classic" studies on Mexican workers in the U.S. written during the 1920s and 1930s, one may be led to conclude that Mexican immigrants were the first Spanish-speaking workers to be incorporated into the Southwest's labor market during the early twentieth century. Not until the publication of Carey McWilliams' *North From Mexico* (1948, 1968) are the nineteenth-century roots of the Mexican American working class given any attention. Even as late as the 1960s and early 1970s, most publications treat the pre-1900 experiences of Mexican workers in superficial terms at best. These classic studies, nonetheless, have formed the basis for research in nineteenth-century Chicano history.

¹The terms Chicano, Mexican and Mexican American are herein used interchangeably.

The historical contributions of scholars such as McWilliams, Leonard Pitt (1966), David Weber (1972), Rodman Paul (1971), and others, while increasing our understanding of nineteenth century Chicano history, do not significantly advance our understanding of the history of Mexican workers per se.² These studies are suggestive rather than exhaustive. As such, the body of literature that has evolved during the 1970s — which partly focus on the historical origins of the Chicano working class — is a response to these earlier studies and actually raises more questions than they answer. In addition, the more recent research, responds to the call for new studies as outlined in the important historiographic essays published during the early 1970s.³

With few exceptions, the first extensive publications on the Chicano working class are products of younger scholars, mostly historians, who have received formal training in the "new" U.S. social history. Most of the recently published monographs on the topic are, in fact, revised dissertations. Though these studies have contributed greatly to our understanding of the Chicano working class experience, they have examined only a minute part of that largely unrecovered history.

A few articles and monographs published during the 1970s generated the first concrete historical data on Mexican workers in the nineteenth century. *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890* by Richard Griswold del Castillo (1979), for example, examines the occupational structure in Los Angeles before the Mexican-American War and during the late nineteenth century (from 1844 to 1880). The author's occupational data shows that despite the presence of Mexican unskilled workers (73 prior to 1848, their occupational status did not change significantly in this early American period. Griswold del Castillo concludes, therefore, that Mexicans were effectively excluded from any of the advantages that resulted from the economic growth of Los Angeles during the transition from Mexican to Anglo rule. His interpretation differs from that of Rodolfo Acuña (1981) and McWilliams as well as from the interpretations of authors of the more recent literature who claim that the Mexican working class was significantly altered by the post-war changes brought about by Americanization.

²Paul S. Taylor briefly mentions nineteenth-century occupations held by Mexicans in Nueces County, Texas in his *An American-Mexican Frontier* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934).

³See Juan Gómez-Quiñones, "Towards a Perspective on Chicano History," *Aztlán* II, 2 (Fall, 1971) and Arthur Corwin, "Mexican-American History: An Assessment," *Pacific Historical Review* XLII, 3 (August, 1973).

Another monograph which focuses on Mexicans in southern California cities during the nineteenth century is Albert Camarillo's *Chicanos in A Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930* (1979). Though the book concentrates primarily on Santa Barbara, comparative profiles of Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Bernardino are provided for the period from 1848 to 1930. Camarillo's analysis of the Mexican working class in southern California demonstrates that their occupational status and livelihood were dramatically altered by the capitalist transformation of the region. Mexicans experienced downward occupational mobility, job displacement, and entrapment in the lowest levels of the occupational structure throughout the region during the late nineteenth century. Mexicans, Camarillo contends, were largely transformed into an unskilled working class in the new economic order.

The most recent monograph that contributes to our understanding of the formation of the Mexican American working class is Mario Garcia's *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920* (1981). Garcia begins his occupational analysis of Mexican workers during the early twentieth century, and looks exclusively at the immigrant from Mexico. Although his study provides little information about native-born workers before 1900, Garcia's book, nonetheless, gives us insight into the development of El Paso's Mexican immigrant working class. Mexicans were employed mostly as unskilled workers, who endured unequal occupational opportunities, while their Anglo counterparts were employed in better paying skilled and white-collar jobs.

Garcia's profile of the El Paso Mexican working class at the turn of the century parallels closely the findings of an earlier study which examines the multiracial work force of San Antonio from 1870 to 1900. Alwyn Barr (1970) examines the occupational and geographic mobility of native-born whites, European immigrants, blacks, and Mexicans, and also finds San Antonio's labor market segmented along racial lines. Blacks and Mexicans in the city experienced low rates of upward job mobility—countered by almost equal rates of downward mobility—and were restricted to the unskilled sector of the working class. In the period examined by Barr, blacks and Mexicans are far out distanced by both native-born and immigrant white workers in the race for upward mobility.

The literature on Chicano workers in the nineteenth century points to one major finding: Mexicans were in the lowest levels of an occupational structure which was divided along racial lines. Poorly paid and often

exploited, these workers had little opportunity to move out of the ranks of low blue-collar occupations. The studies that have examined Chicano nineteenth-century workers differ, however, on how and why Mexicans became an impoverished, immobile working class. For Griswold del Castillo, the Mexican workers did not experience a dramatic downward mobility after the Mexican-American War; in his view, Mexican workers simply found other unskilled jobs within the modernizing American economy. Garcia's study also examines the role of immigrant Mexican workers in terms of a modernizing economy's need for a large pool of unskilled labor. Both authors agree that class and racial factors operating in the broader society retarded the progress of the Mexican working class. Camarillo's study supports this thesis, but explains the experience of Mexican workers in southern California in terms of the disruptive proletarianization process that occurred as the Mexican pastoral economy gave way to American capitalism.

These more recent studies not only offer new evidence but also pose new questions for further historical inquiry. How does one, for example, characterize the major socioeconomic and political change that occurred in the new American Southwest during the late nineteenth century: was it a disruptive capitalist transformation of a semi-feudal social order or a classic example of the evolutionary modernization of a "traditional" society? What specific forces fostered the entrance of Mexican workers into the new American Southwest labor market and relegated them to certain sectors of the occupational structure? Did they achieve any appreciable upward mobility or did they experience downward mobility? Are occupational mobility patterns for Mexican Americans in the nineteenth century similar to those of other native-born and foreign-born ethnic groups? What specific role did women and children play in the labor force? How did the new economy and society affect the socio-cultural world of Mexican workers? And, did the work experiences of Mexicans differ significantly between states and localities in the Southwest? These and other important questions have guided the on-going research of more contemporary scholars who have analyzed the Chicano working class of the 1800s.

It is also likely that in the next five years analyses of nineteenth-century Chicano workers will lead to innovative research in the following topical areas: (1) comparative urban and regional studies, a few of which have already been published (Camarillo, 1979; Griswold del Castillo, 1979b); (2) comparative ethnic and racial working class histories, systematically incorporating the conditions of Chicanos for the first time; (3) cultural

impact on the work process and the worker's cultural responses to the labor market (these are ideas Herbert Gutman (1977) suggests be explored in the "new" labor history); (4) the role of women in the work force; (5) theoretical frameworks that explain the general experiences of Mexican workers over time; and (6) major historical synthesis. Several noteworthy and important efforts at such a synthesis are the works of Mario Barrera (1979), Juan Gómez-Quinones⁴ (1979) and Juan Gómez Quinones and David Maciel (1981).

As more is written about the history of Mexican workers in the U.S., the nineteenth century will continue to attract attention as the starting point for these studies. Ongoing research by scholars in the field should expand our knowledge and conceptualization of Chicano working class origins.⁴ The prospects are bright for future research in this area.

Chicanos in the Urban Occupational Structure

Two of the earliest studies of Chicano workers during the period from 1900 to 1940 were those by Victor Clark (1908) and Paul S. Taylor (1928-1932). Clark's 1908 report on Mexican labor is an important study and was the first of its kind to be published. Taylor's seven volumes on Mexican labor, published between 1928 and 1930, have become classic works that are still cited extensively by contemporary scholars. Both of these studies documented major features of the Mexican working class experience that were later elaborated on by a future generation of scholars. The widespread recruitment of Mexican workers into the southwestern and midwestern labor markets, the existence of a dual wage system, and various discriminatory labor practices that impeded Mexican occupational mobility are among the practices documented by Clark and Taylor.

⁴Tómas Almaguer, University of California, Berkeley, is presently completing a manuscript that comparatively analyzes race and class relations in California from 1850 to 1930. Pedro Castillo, University of California, Santa Cruz, is concluding a manuscript entitled "The Making of a Mexican Barrio: Los Angeles, 1890-1920" based on his doctoral dissertation. Antonia Castañeda, a Ph.D. candidate in history at Stanford University, is writing a history of Chicanos in Monterrey County from the Mexican period through the early American period. This study will examine the roles of Mexican women as workers outside the home. Antonio Pios-Bustamante, a doctoral candidate in history at UCLA, is writing a history of Albuquerque during the Spanish and Mexican period. His study, in part, analyzes the formation of the Mexican working class in that city.

Victor Clark's Department of Labor report documented the early work performed by Mexicans in a variety of nascent industries at the turn of the century. Clark focused on Mexican immigrant workers in the U.S. and their incorporation into the southwestern and midwestern labor markets. He carefully examined the early sources and methods of Mexican immigration, the immigrant's entry into various rural and urban labor markets, and, in great detail, their employment in the railroads, agriculture, mining, and lumber industries as well as in miscellaneous urban occupations.

Among Clark's major findings was the widespread employment of Mexicans as railroad workers throughout the Southwest and in the midwestern states of Illinois and Iowa. It was from their employment in this industry that many Mexicans later drifted into other kinds of urban-based employment. While opportunities for such work were limited at the time Clark was conducting his study, he found that Mexicans had made very modest inroads into other industries where they were also subjected to a dual wage system.

Despite the abundant information gathered by Victor Clark on Mexican labor, his study is seriously flawed by racist characterizations of the workers and his failure to account for the limited employment opportunities open to Mexican laborers at the time. For example, he describes the Mexican laborer as "unambitious, listless, physically weak, irregular, and indolent. . . [the Mexican worker] is docile, patient, usually orderly in camp, fairly intelligent under competent supervision, obedient and cheap." Needless to say, such characterizations add little to an understanding of Mexican workers at the turn of the century, and, more than anything, detract from Clark's otherwise significant contribution to the study of Mexican labor in the U.S.

The second major scholar to provide a glimpse into the world of the Chicano worker during the early twentieth century is Paul S. Taylor. Professor Taylor, more than any other researcher to date, has produced the most comprehensive, scholarly body of literature on Chicano workers written. Taylor's studies provide a great deal of information on the status of Mexican workers in various southwestern, midwestern, and northeastern cities during the late 1920s and early 1930s. Two volumes of his classic *Mexican Labor in the United States* are particularly relevant to this essay: his study of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, (1932) and the Chicago-Calumet region (1932). In these two studies Taylor carefully chronicles the recruitment of Mexican workers into these urban labor markets and recounts their travails in the midwestern urban heartland of America.

An economist by training, Taylor was able to transcend the constricting boundaries of his discipline and offer more than a narrow statistical profile of Mexican workers. Using a variety of sources—newspapers in Spanish and English, interviews with employers, co-workers, and Mexican laborers, business records, government documents, and numerous secondary sources—Taylor paints a comprehensive mural of the socio-cultural, political, and economic aspects of the Mexican experience in these two cities.

Taylor's study of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania is an excellent case study which documents industrial capitalism's relentless search for a cheap, mobile labor force. The steel industry's need for a new source of cheap labor originally led to the recruitment of Mexicans into the area. The Bethlehem Steel Company recruited approximately 1,000 Mexicans in 1923 to work as common laborers at their local plant. The vast majority of Mexicans employed by the company were relegated to the most undesirable, unskilled jobs in the industry. Only a handful of the recruited Mexicans working at the plant were employed in semi-skilled or skilled positions.

Taylor's detailed study of the Chicago-Calumet region remains the single most extensive study of Mexican labor in the area. It provided the first scholarly documentation of widespread Mexican migration into the area around 1916. The first major employer of Mexican workers in the region was the Elgin, Joliet, & Eastern Railroad. Mexicans employed by this company primarily labored as maintenance workers.

Strikes in the steel industry in 1919 and in the packinghouse industry in 1921 eventually led to Mexican workers being integrated into these sectors of the local economy. In addition to the railroad, steel, and meat packing industries, Mexicans also were employed in local mattress factories, cement plants, tanneries, foundries, and various food processing establishments.

One of Taylor's major findings was the partial continuation of the wage differential system that Victor Clark had documented earlier. For example, Taylor found that Mexicans working in small packinghouses were paid less than black and white co-workers doing similar work. In large packinghouses, on the other hand, "a considerable proportion" of Mexicans received more than most workers because of the heavy or disagreeable nature of the jobs they held. In the steel industry, where wages were also standardized, Mexicans received wages equivalent to those of other ethnic groups.

Overall, Taylor's straightforward portrayal of Mexican workers in his Bethlehem and Chicago-Calumet studies manages to avoid the flaws that

marred Victor Clark's work. Although Taylor's study does not make explicit use of a theoretical model or conceptual framework, elements of contemporary assimilation theory can be found in his work. For example, Taylor notes with some surprise and approbation that Mexicans in Chicago faced less residential and educational segregation than they did in parts of Texas and California. This observation leads him to conclude that "Mexicans have won a recognized place" in "an urban-industrial environment in the heart of America." Furthermore, he notes that future research on the Mexican population in the region should be couched in terms of "how they accommodate and assimilate" when compared to other European immigrant groups in the area.

Not until the emergence of young Chicano historians and social scientists during the late 1960s did significant research in this area resume. Some of the most notable recent work on Chicano labor in California has been done by historians Albert Camarillo (1979), Ricardo Romo (1975, 1977), and Pedro Castillo (1975). The recent works by Mario Garcia (1975, 1981) on Chicano workers in El Paso, Texas and a regional study of Chicano labor in the Southwest by Mario Barrera (1979) are important contributions that deserves special mention.⁵

Camarillo's social history of working class Mexicans in southern California cities during the period from 1848 to 1930 concludes that the "subordinate socioeconomic and political status of Mexicans emanated from the establishment of the dominant Anglo society in southern California and the corresponding growth of the capitalist economic system during the late nineteenth century." Camarillo finds that the Mexican subordination in southern California was the result of four interrelated processes: (1) social and residential segregation, (2) political domination of Mexicans, (3) expropriation of Mexican lands, and (4) the proletarianization of the Mexican population. His discussion of the proletarianization of the Mexican worker is particularly important to this discussion.

⁵For interesting recent studies of the Mexican working class experience in the Midwest see: Louise Añó Nuevo Kerr, "The Chicano Experience in Chicago: 1920-1970," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago Circle, 1976); Francisco Arturo Rosales, "Mexican Immigration to the Urban Midwest during the 1920s," (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1978); Francisco A. Rosales and Daniel T. Simon, "Chicano Steelworkers and Unionism in the Midwest, 1919-1945," *Aztlán* Vol. 6, No. 2 (Summer 1975): 267-275; Mark Reisler, "The Mexican Immigrant in the Chicago Area during the 1920s," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* Vol. 66, No. 2 (Summer 1973): 144-158.

According to Camarillo, the undermining of the Mexican pastoral economy in southern California and the 1882 enactment of the Chinese Exclusion Act led to widespread incorporation of Mexicans into the new capitalist labor market. This process began in the late nineteenth century and escalated during the early twentieth century. Numerous insidious methods were used to reinforce the subordinate position of Mexican workers in the new political economy. These included the common use of the contract labor system and the establishment of wage differentials based on race and sex. These methods continued well into the twentieth century.

A major aspect of the proletarianization of Mexican laborers in southern California was their disproportionate numbers at the bottom end of the new occupational structure. Mexicans were incorporated into the labor market and remained thereafter as members of a predominantly unskilled and semi-skilled working class throughout the region. In Santa Barbara, for example, over 73 percent of the Mexican male head-of-household population was located in these two stratum in 1900. By 1930, this condition had changed little. Farther south in San Diego, the proportion of the Mexican male population in unskilled and semi-skilled occupation ranged from 73 percent in 1910 to 68 percent in 1930.

In many ways, Camarillo's work represents a continuation of the kind of sympathetic scholarly craftsmanship Paul Taylor brought to his research on Mexican workers in the 1930. Like Taylor, Camarillo examines the Mexican experience in broad interdisciplinary terms. He reconstructs the history of Mexicans in southern California by fusing social, cultural, political, ideological, as well as economic factors in his analysis. Unlike Taylor, however, Camarillo does not couch his study in assimilationist terms. Instead, Camarillo carefully integrates into his analysis elements of Marxist theory, modernization theory, and the internal colonial model. He successfully incorporates these theoretical formulations without becoming bridled by them or falling victim to the tendentious features of each.

Two other monographs on the subject yet to be published are the studies of Mexican workers in southern California by historians Ricardo Romo and Pedro Castillo. These studies are particularly noteworthy in that they focus on the Mexican experience in the city of Los Angeles. A key feature of Romo's work is his examination of the occupational immobility of Mexicans in that city. Romo (1977) has found that Mexicans were not only disproportionately located in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, but that their "movements from manual to nonmanual employment categories

were almost nonexistent." Despite evidence that nearly one-third of all workers in Los Angeles moved from unskilled to white-collar positions from 1910 to 1920, Romo's study found that not a single unskilled or semi-skilled Mexican worker, regardless of generation, moved upward into a white-collar position between 1918 and 1928. Mexican workers, in fact, suffered an unusual downward rate of mobility when compared to white workers in both Boston and Los Angeles.

Although his findings are informative and shed considerable light on the issue he examines, Romo's underlying assumptions are questionable.⁶ For example, Romo explicitly acknowledges his reliance on traditional sociological literature on stratification and social mobility to provide the conceptual basis for his historical examination of Mexican occupational mobility in Los Angeles. Romo assumes that occupations are the primary basis for social stratification and that mobility within occupational strata is an adequate measure of the "open" or "closed" nature of a social order.⁷

⁶For two general critiques of this type of urban historical research see: James Henretta, "The Study of Social Mobility: Ideological Assumptions and Conceptual Bias," *Labor History* XVIII (1977): 165-178 and Margo Gonk, "Social Mobility in Historical Perspective," *Marxist Perspectives* Vol. 1, No. 3 (Fall 1978): 52-69.

⁷The main problem with Romo's approach is that occupations measure little more than the position of individuals in the "technical division of labor" in society. Occupational grouping cannot be mechanically translated into social classes. The former are merely descriptive statistical categories while the latter refers to the common relationship of a group of people to the production process. Romo's social mobility study only measures the movement of individuals within various occupational groupings and does not measure or examine the nature of the broader social relations that provides the basis for the local class structure. As a result, his study does not address questions concerning changes in the class position of Mexicans in Los Angeles or in the larger class structure. This flaw is not unique to Romo's work. Nearly all the historians and social scientists presently conducting research on Chicano labor largely accept the same assumptions. All of these authors couch their empirical work on Chicanos in the urban occupational structure within the narrow limits of traditional sociological literature on social stratification. For a critique of the traditional use of occupations as a measure of social class see: Erik Olin Wright, "Class and Occupations," *Theory and Society*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (January 1980): 177-214.) Also see the important criticism of the use of traditional sociological conceptions of class in the "new" urban history by Michael B. Katz, "Social Class in North American Urban History," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* Vol. XI, No. 4 (Spring 1981): 579-605.

The second major study of Chicano workers in Los Angeles is by historian Pedro Castillo (1979). His dissertation, "The Making of a Mexican Barrio: Los Angeles, 1890-1920," provides important new information on Chicano workers in that urban center. Using federal manuscript census schedules and Los Angeles city directories, Castillo documents the continued placement of Mexican workers at the bottom of the city's occupational structure at the turn of the century. Castillo has shown that over 73 percent of Mexican workers in Los Angeles in 1900 were employed in semi-skilled and unskilled occupations. By 1920, the percentage in these low blue-collar strata increased slightly to 79 percent. Many of the Mexican workers in these occupations were employed in the local construction industry, in road building and maintenance, as asphalt and cement workers, and as teamsters. The major employer of Mexican labor in the city, however, was the railroad industry. Local companies hired them as section hands or yard gang laborers in the maintenance of the extensive Los Angeles railway system.

One of the most provocative features of Castillo's work on Mexican workers in Los Angeles is his explicit use of the notion of "racial dualism" as a framework for his study. Castillo uses the concept to explain the subordinate position of Mexicans in the Los Angeles labor market and, more broadly, to explain the nature of socio-cultural and political relations as well. Relying on Harold Baron and Bennett Hymen's original formulation of the concept and historian Mario Garcia's earlier application of it to Chicano history, Castillo identifies three major elements of "racial dualism" in Los Angeles. They include: (1) the division of the labor market along racial lines, (2) the use of Mexicans as a "reserve army of labor" during periods of economic expansion and their widespread relegation to marginal, low-paying jobs, and (3) the use of various institutionalized forms of racial discrimination to limit Mexican workers' access to better sectors of the labor market.

Although the notion of racial dualism is a useful analytical tool, it appears that its primary strength is to explain the operations of the labor market. Castillo, however, uses the concept more broadly as a framework for analyzing racial and class relations in Los Angeles. It remains to be seen if he and other scholars can further develop this concept in such analyses.

Another historian who used the notion of racial dualism in his early work is Mario Garcia (1975a, 1975b). He makes explicit use of it in his dissertation and in a published article in *Aztlán*. Curiously, however, he

later abandons the concept in his book-length study of Mexicans in El Paso, Texas. Although his recent publication, *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920*, does not further develop this line of analysis, it remains, nonetheless, a very important contribution to Chicano history.

Garcia's (1981) study of Chicano workers in that border town produces findings similar to those of the California studies. For example, Garcia documents the disproportionate placement of Mexican workers in the unskilled and semi-skilled strata of the occupational structure in El Paso. Relying on a previously unpublished study by Alma Garcia, Professor Garcia reports that almost 75 percent of the Mexican laborers in the city worked either as common laborers, service workers, or as operatives in 1900. In contrast, less than one-quarter of the non-Spanish-surname population—primarily Anglos—were employed in these jobs. By 1920, the proportion of Mexican workers in these bottom three strata declined only slightly to nearly 70 percent.

Another of Garcia's findings that parallels the California experience is the existence of a wage differential system in El Paso. On the average, Mexicans received appreciably lower wages than Anglo workers in similar jobs. Chicana workers, in particular, were victimized by this practice. Hearings before the 1919 Texas Industrial Welfare Commission revealed that local employers routinely paid Chicanas less than white women. One employer testified that local laundries paid Mexican women \$6 per week while white women received approximately \$16.55 per week. The wage differential system also operated in local retail stores and in the garment industry. Employers in these industries justified this practice on the premise that Mexicanas were unable to produce as much as white women and that deep-seated racial and cultural differences between these women accounted for these differences in productivity.

While Garcia's book is an impressive piece of social history, it is disappointing that he chose not to use the provocative conceptual formulations found in earlier studies. In addition to ignoring "racial dualism" in his recent publication, Garcia also avoids his earlier utilization of the concept of "modernization." As a result, he does not attempt to place his social history within a broader conception of the nature of social change in society. While he does refer to the impact that capitalist development had on Mexican immigration into El Paso, he fails to develop it into a cohesive theoretical argument.

Among the recent contributions to our understanding of Chicanos in the urban occupational structure is Mario Barrera's *Race and Class in the Southwest* (1979). Unlike the other studies, Barrera's work explicitly attempts to develop a theoretical framework that reinterprets the historical experiences of Chicanos. Barrera makes extensive use of secondary historical sources in order to develop an interpretation based on a "class-differentiated colonial perspective."

Barrera emphasizes that the Chicano experience in the twentieth century has been characterized by the use of Mexican laborers within the "colonized sector" of the U.S. economy. According to Barrera, Chicano workers in this sector have been "incorporated into the new capitalist economy of the Southwest, but on a subordinate basis. In rural areas they could be found as nominally free wage labor on the railroads and ranches and in the mines, or in some cases in a kind of debt-peonage arrangement. In the cities they worked as laborers in various fields such as construction, and Chicanas were employed as domestics and laundry workers."

According to Barrera, five distinct institutional mechanisms created and reinforced the subordinate status of Chicanos as a colonial work force: (1) labor repressive systems such as debt-peonage, (2) a dual wage system, (3) the discriminatory status of Mexicans at the bottom of the occupational structure, (4) use of Mexicans as a reserve labor force in times of economic expansion, and (5) the use of Mexican labor as "shock absorbers" or "buffers" to cushion the impact of economic dislocation on the rest of the working class.

The institutional mechanisms Barrera identifies are not unlike those noted in nearly all the studies discussed in this paper. Yet the unique feature of Barrera's study is his explicit conceptualization of the structural position of Chicanos in the Southwest. Barrera introduces the notion of Chicanos as members of distinct "colonized class segments" within the major classes in the region. Barrera argues that the racial status of Chicanos sets them off from other members of the capitalist, "middle", and working classes. Taking his analysis one step further, Barrera believes that these "colonized class segments" together constitute an "internal colony." This concept allows him to delineate the important racial dimension of the Chicano experience that cuts across class lines.

Although problems exist with Barrera's particular melding of Marxist theory and the internal colonial model,⁸ his overall approach is important

⁸See, for example, the criticisms of Barrera's book in: Tomas Almaguer, "Recent Contributions to Chicano Studies Research," *Contemporary Sociology* Vol. 10, No. 1 (January 1981): 27-30.

because he is the first author to provide a clear alternative to the modernization approach that is latent in most recent historical writings on Chicano labor. Unlike other researchers, Barrera does not view the development of the Chicano working class or its incorporation into the urban labor market in terms of the Southwest's evolutionary transformation from a "traditional" to a "modern" social order. Barrera's study carefully avoids relying on reified concepts such as "modernization," "industrialization," or "urbanization." Instead, he analyzes the role of Chicano workers in the new economy in terms of capitalism's uneven development in the Southwest and to the conflict between different class forces in the region.

Chicano Labor Organizing and Militancy

An area of Chicano labor research that has commanded considerable attention is the participation of Mexican workers in union organizing and in militant strike activity. There are two sources for the development of this area of research. The first is the desire of revisionist historians to recount the more radical chapters of Chicano history that have been ignored or undocumented. Writing about Mexican workers' militant participation in numerous labor struggles helps dispel the stereotypic notion that they are unorganizable, passive workers who have contributed little to the labor movement in the U.S. Interest in this area of research can also be attributed to the underlying political persuasions of many of the scholars in the field. Most Chicano scholars writing in this vein are products of the Chicano movement of the late 1960s. Most certainly would define themselves as "revisionist historians" or "progressive social scientists" holding liberal, radical, or even socialist political beliefs. It is not surprising that many of these new scholars have turned their attention to studying the Chicano working class and documenting their militant unionism.

Although most of this recent literature focuses on the activities of Chicano agricultural workers, there does exist a growing body of literature on Chicano workers in the urban context. Presently, little of this research focuses on Chicano workers in California. While numerous authors have documented Chicano participation in various unions and strikes in the state, only two articles on urban-based strikes, both in Los Angeles, have been published: the 1903 Pacific Electric strike and the 1933 garment workers' strike. These labor struggles capture vividly the plight of urban Chicano and Chicana workers and shed light on the attitudes of the dominant leaders in the trade union movement toward these workers. They also typify studies of the Chicano working class that focus on dramatic labor struggles.

Charles Wollenberg's "Working on El Traque: The Pacific Electric Strike of 1903," (1975) is the most detailed study of Chicano participation in that strike. Originally published in the *Pacific Historical Review* 1973, Wollenberg's article carefully documents the events surrounding the strike and reasons for its ultimate failure.

According to Wollenberg, Anglo electric railway workers—most of whom were employed as engineers, motormen, or conductors—first organized a union local in Los Angeles in 1903. In that same year, the Los Angeles County Council of Labor helped organize into a separate union the Mexican track workers who were employed on Henry Huntington's Pacific Electric railroad line. The formation of separate unions for Mexican track workers and Anglo car men clearly reflected the ethnic and occupational separation that existed in the local railroad industry.

One of the first actions of the new Mexican union was to demand a wage increase for its membership. This demand challenged the industry's longstanding practice of paying Mexican workers less than other nationalities. The railroad company initially agreed to the worker's demands, but after Huntington's personal intervention it later rescinded its agreement. This action led directly to approximately 700 Mexican track workers leaving their jobs, effectively crippling further work on the railroad's mainstreet line.

Reacting swiftly to the strike, the Pacific Electric Railroad brought in Mexican workers from other Huntington lines and successfully recruited Japanese, black, and Anglo workers from Los Angeles. The most severe blow to the new union, however, was the refusal of Anglo co-workers and members of the Amalgamated Association of Street Car Employees to honor the Mexican strike. This development destroyed any hope for a union victory and negatively effected the further organization of local railway workers. By the beginning of June, 1903 the Unión Federal Mexicanos' strike was hopelessly lost. In 1904, 1910, and 1919 Mexican workers once again struck against the Pacific Electric Railroad. As in 1903, their strikes were also broken by Huntington's company.⁹

The second documented major labor struggle in which Chicanos actively participated was the 1933 garment workers' strike in Los Angeles. Many Mexican women working in the local garment industry joined the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) in that year and

⁹Also see Pedro Castillo, "The Making of a Mexican Barrio," (1979), pp. 164-180.

participated actively in this strike. Historian Douglas Monroy (1980) and Clementina Durón (1982) have written articles that chronicle Chicana participation in this important strike.

According to Monroy, the workers' demands included union recognition, a thirty-five hour work week, a guaranteed minimum wage, elimination of homework, election of a shop chairperson, and establishment of a grievance procedure. No less than 2,000 Mexican women honored the strike. According to Durón, most supported the strike because they were simply unable to support their families on the meager wages they earned.

The month-long strike ended with the new union winning a modest victory. The arbitration settlement ending the strike gave workers the right to union representation and collective bargaining, to the establishment of a wage scale in accordance to NRA guidelines, to an arbitration board to adjudicate further grievances, and to end homework and the use of child labor. The major demand lost by the striking workers was the formal recognition of the ILGWU as the sole bargaining agent for workers in the industry.

Like the 1903 Pacific Electric strike, the garment workers' strike revealed the attitude of the white labor movement toward Mexican workers at the time. Although Mexican women comprised approximately three-fourths of ILGWU Local 96, they were not fully integrated into the union leadership. Only six of the nineteen elected officers of the new local were Mexicans. The principal union leaders were the Anglo AFL organizers brought in from New York to direct the ILGWU's organizational drive and strike. Monroy describes this union leadership as paternalistic in its dealings with the Mexican membership.

Although it is difficult to generalize from the two examples cited here, some tentative conclusion can be drawn about Chicano union activity in California during the early twentieth century. First, it is evident that Chicano and Chicana workers were employed in industries in which the larger trade union movement was actively organizing at the time. Some scholars suggest that many Chicanos were brought into this larger movement and organized in either integrated unions or in separate, ethnically-based locals.¹⁰ Other scholars, however, claim that the extent of

¹⁰See, for example, Douglas Monroy, "An Essay on Understanding the Work Experience of Mexicans in Southern California, 1900-1939," *Aztlán* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Spring 1981): 59-74 and Luis Leobardo Arroyo, "Notes on Past, Present, and Future Directions of Chicano Labor Studies," *Aztlán* Vol. 6, No. 2 (Summer 1975): 137-149.

this unionization effort of Mexicans was insignificant prior to World War I. Albert Camarillo, for example, minimizes the extent to which Anglo labor actively organized Chicano workers. In his southern California study, he concludes that most Mexican union activity occurred without the aid of established labor unions like the American Federation of Labor. Camarillo (1979) argues that national unions such as the AFL shunned unskilled Mexican laborers and made little effort to include skilled Mexican workers in their union locals. He maintains that the few skilled Mexicans in labor unions in southern California were often restricted to segregated locals of unskilled workers.

The second conclusion one can draw from these studies is that nearly all of the strikes initiated by Mexican workers were largely unsuccessful. Militant labor strikes initiated by Chicano labor organizations, such as the *Unión Federal Mexicanos*, were usually defeated. The ability of capitalist interests to suppress these efforts proved to be too formidable. Violence, deportations, incarcerations, firings, and strikebreakers were all effectively used against Mexican workers.

Documentation of union activity by Mexican workers in Texas is more extensive than in California. In El Paso alone, for example, Mario Garcia (1975) documents the outbreak of Mexican-led strikes in 1901 by construction workers; in 1907 and 1913 by iron smelters; in 1911 by water department employees; in 1914 by retail clerks; and in 1919 by garbage collectors and park employees. Worker demands in these strikes were concerned with wage increases and improvement of working conditions. Like the California experience, however, most of these strikes were unsuccessful. Major employers of Mexican workers in Texas also successfully crushed Mexican unions through police violence and the effective use of strikebreakers.

Recent studies by other scholars on Mexican workers in other communities in Texas support the general findings of Garcia's El Paso study. Victor Nelson-Cisneros (1975, 1976, 1978), for example, found evidence of Chicano union activity in San Antonio between 1920 and 1940. As in the case of El Paso, however, this unionization produced only limited gains for the Mexican working class. He notes that widespread exclusion of Mexicans from skilled occupational sectors of that city severely limited Chicano unionism. Despite these constraints, Mexican workers in that city actively participated in three major industrial strikes: the 1933 cigarmakers

strike; the pecan shellers' strikes of 1934 and 1938; and those in the garment industry during the 1930s.¹¹

Emilio Zamora's (1975) study of Mexican labor in Laredo, Texas provides evidence that Mexican workers organized in that city and that they often held radical political beliefs. Zamora notes that many of the numerous strikes that occurred in Laredo between 1905 and 1907 were led by Chicano socialists. Furthermore, he maintains that Chicano socialist activity in the area "maintained a resilient pattern of growth" during the early decades of the twentieth century.

Zamora's findings support the general thesis that Chicano workers in Texas actively struggled against oppressive labor conditions during the early twentieth century. His work supports the interpretation of the same period by historian Juan Gómez-Quinones. In his seminal article, "The First Steps: Chicano Labor Conflict and Organizing, 1900-1920," Gómez (1972) outlines a concept of Chicano working class history that stresses militant labor unionism and strike participation. He characterizes this period as one in which "Chicanos struggled against the exploitation of management and the hostility of other workers" and were "locked in mortal combat" against capitalist interests in the Southwest.

The impact of Gómez' work on other Chicano scholars in the field cannot be underestimated. It is no exaggeration that his work, more than that of any other scholar, has provided direction for the new field of Chicano history during the past decade. Recently, however, the basic thesis that Gómez formulated in his 1973 article has been seriously challenged by other scholars in the field.

Mario Garcia takes strong exception to Gómez' interpretation of Chicano working class history. Although Garcia (1981) has found evidence of widespread Mexican participation in union activity in El Paso, he maintains that such activity was more the exception than the rule. In sharp contrast to the thrust of Gómez' work, and the findings of Emilio

¹¹Also see Richard A. Garcia, "Class Consciousness and Ideology—The Mexican Community of San Antonio, Texas: 1930-1940," *Aztlán* Vol. 9 (Spring, Summer, Fall, 1978) pp. 49-51; Acuña, *Occupied America*, pp. 234-236, for additional discussions on Mexican union activity.

Zamora, Garcia argues that striking Mexican workers in El Paso did not see their struggle in class terms. Instead, the ethnic factor was paramount. According to Garcia: "Mexican immigrants did not see themselves as members of a proletariat class but as Mexicans temporarily in a foreign land; hence, they organized and protected themselves along ethnic lines."

Garcia also maintains that Mexican workers in that city struck for reasons similar to that of immigrant workers elsewhere in the U.S. Narrow economic issues, such as wages and a shorter work day, were often at the root of labor struggles in El Paso. Underlying these "bread and butter" concerns was a desire by Mexicans to improve their economic status in this country or, more likely than not, to improve their situation so that they could enjoy a better life in Mexico. By invoking the ethnic immigrant group analogy, Garcia explicitly contends that there exist features in the Chicano experience that are similar to those of other immigrant group in the U.S. One of these is the Mexican workers' reluctance to jeopardize their already precarious economic condition in this country by engaging in militant unionism. When Mexican workers did participate in such activities, it was largely out of a desire to be integrated into American society rather than as a sign of rejecting its basic values.

In sum, Garcia's major point is that Mexican immigrants were primarily interested in assimilating structurally into U.S. society and, thus, largely "avoided labor agitation." He concludes his study by emphatically stating that "adjustment not resistance characterized their stay in the United States."

Whether Garcia's contention is borne out by further case studies of Mexican workers in the Southwest remains to be seen. He has clearly, however, raised an important issue that deserves further debate. Historical research on the Chicano working class has reached the point where scholarly debate about historical interpretation of the Chicano experience can now be seriously considered. The next decade is likely to be one in which this type of exchange will contribute greatly to our understanding of that history.

Chicanas in the Labor Market

Like the literature on nineteenth-century Chicano history, the history of Mexican women in the U.S. has only recently begun to be explored. A

handful of articles and books have been published over the past few years which amplify the rather sketchy accounts on Mexican women workers found in the classic studies by Taylor (1928-1932), Gamio (1931, 1934), and others. Our understanding of the roles and lives of Chicana workers is still very incomplete and more concrete research is needed in virtually every area of the Chicana experience.

Traditionally, research on Chicanas has been dominated by the focus on the family. They are seldom depicted beyond their role as wives and mothers. Chicana history must proceed from the premise that women have been paid workers outside the home for over one hundred years. Chicana history is as much a story of labor market participation as it is the history of the Chicane family. Chicana history in general, but especially the history of Mexican women as workers, must be viewed from within the context of Chicano history, women's history, and American working class history.

Although most of the information on Chicana workers has been published in the past five years, several studies were published before 1950 that provide glimpses into the Chicana working class experience. For example, Manuel Gamio (1931), in a companion volume to his study on Mexican immigration prior to the Great Depression, conducted and transcribed many interviews with Mexican immigrants. Those interviews with women indicate that they were employed mostly in unskilled or semi-skilled positions. Most of Gamio's informants were employed as cannery, garment, and restaurant workers. Others worked as maids while some were employed in vaudeville theaters and dance halls.

Paul S. Taylor (1980) has also incorporated some information on Mexican immigrant women workers, both urban and rural, in his seven volume study. Taylor, in fact, collected some extremely informative, detailed interviews with Chicana workers. This information, which was contained in Taylor's unpublished field notes, was not published until nearly fifty years after his monumental study of *Mexican Labor in the United States*. Taylor interviewed over one hundred Mexican women in numerous Los Angeles industries. Most of these women worked in order to help support their families. Some of the younger women indicated that they sought employment so they could lead independent lives away from their

parents. Though Taylor depicts Chicanas as a heterogeneous group with regard to their attitudes and reasons for working, he characterizes them as homogeneous in terms of their common position in the low blue-collar labor force. Most of the women Taylor interviewed worked in the food processing and packing industries, the garment industry, and in laundries.

Except for Gamio and Taylor, only a few additional studies and surveys were published before the contemporary period. Though they were limited in scope, they are useful because they provide information on Mexican women workers.¹² In a review of this literature, Vicki Ruiz (1982) indicates that the studies written by Ruth Allen and Beatrice Griffith, for example, provide bits of information about Chicana workers, but in highly ethnocentric terms. The few surveys published during the period were more straightforward in their approach and contained some important information on the work experience of Mexican women in California. For example, Constantine Panunzio's (1933) study of income and expenditures of one hundred Mexican families in San Diego indicated that a relatively large percentage of Chicanas worked in full-time and part-time jobs outside the home. Similarly, the Report of California Governor C.C. Young's Mexican Fact-Finding Committee in 1930 provided some data on the types of jobs held by Mexican women at the time. The committee's findings were virtually identical to those of Gamio and Taylor.

The corpus of literature, scanty though it may be, that deals in some way with the history of the Chicana working class has been written mostly in the late 1970s. The small number of publications that explore various aspects of Mexican women's work experiences fall largely into three

¹²See, for example, the following: Emory S. Bogardus, *The Mexican in the United States*; Beatrice Griffith, *American Me* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948); Ruth Allen, "Mexican Peon Women in Texas", *Sociology and Social Research* XVI (November-December 1931). For an example of social-cultural and occupational surveys which contain information on Chicanas, see Constantine Panunzio, *How Mexicans Earn and Live: A Study of Incomes and expenditures of One Hundred Mexican Families in San Diego, California* (Berkeley: University of California Publication in Economics, 1933); *Mexicans in California*, Report of Governor C.C. Young's Mexican Fact-Finding Committee (San Francisco: 1930). See also, Carlos E. Cortés, ed. *Perspectives on Mexican-American Life* (New York: Arno Press, 1974).

areas: (1) general overviews; (2) labor market participation and Chicana occupational structure; and (3) labor conflict.

The few published overviews of Chicana history do not shed much light on the lives of Chicana workers beyond what is generally known.¹³ Alfredo Mirandé and Evangelina Enriquez's *La Chicana*, (1979) for example, provides only a brief sketch of Chicana labor history and experiences of Mexican women workers. By contrast, Mario Barrera in his *Race and Class in the Southwest* (1979) has done an effective job of surveying what has been written on both male and female Mexican workers. A comprehensive synthesis of Chicana working class history is not yet possible, however, because of the dearth of research on the topic.

The few studies that have examined in detail the rate of Mexican female participation in the labor market and the formation of the Chicana working class during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century include those previously mentioned studies on Chicano urban history. Mario Garcia's (1981) and Albert Camarillo's (1979) monographs both analyze the range of jobs open to Mexican women in the labor markets of El Paso and in various southern California cities. In addition, both deal briefly with the reasons why Chicanas sought employment outside the home and its effects on their family life.¹⁴

¹³See Marta P. Cotera, *Diosa y Hembra: The History and Heritage of Chicanas in the U.S.* (Austin: Information Systems Development, 1979). For reviews of the literature on Chicanas, see Judith Sweeney, "Chicana History: A Review of the Literature," in Rosaura Sánchez and Rosa Martínez Cruz, eds., *Essays on La Mujer* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Center Publications, University of California-Los Angeles, 1977); Rosalinda González, "The Chicana in the Southwest Labor History, 1900-1975: A Preliminary Bibliographic Analysis" (Unpublished paper, 1976). The second edition of Rodolfo Acuña's *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos* (New York: Harper and Row, 1981)—a commonly used text on Chicano history—does a much better job of incorporating more information on women than the first edition.

¹⁴Information on the labor market participation of Mexican women before 1940 is found in Julia Kirk Blackwelder, "Women in the Work Force: Atlanta, New Orleans, and San Antonio, 1930 to 1940," *Journal of Urban History*, IV, 3 (1978). Griswold del Castillo's *The Los Angeles Barrio 1850-1890* contributes to our understanding of the changing role of Mexican women within the household, although he offers little new information for understanding Chicana working class experiences in late nineteenth-century Los Angeles.

Garcia (1980) examines the occupational distribution of Mexican women workers in El Paso from 1880 to 1920. He finds that approximately twenty percent of all Mexican households in 1900 contained working women and that by 1920 Chicanas constituted half of all female workers in the local labor market. Though most Mexicanas labored as laundresses and domestics, some were able to acquire jobs as clerks in stores catering to a large Spanish-speaking clientele.

Camarillo's (1979) southern California study closely examines the occupational distribution of Mexican women. He begins by tracing their incorporation into the capitalist labor market during the 1880s when they were recruited to work in the cannery and packing sheds. Subsequently, Mexican women moved into other unskilled and semi-skilled jobs—such as laundresses, domestics, and factory operatives. With few exceptions, he characterizes Chicana workers as a group restricted to certain menial, laboring occupations and as being particularly disadvantaged in the labor market because of the dual influences of racial and sexual discrimination.

A final topical area that has received some preliminary attention by scholars is Chicana participation in organized labor struggles. Two noteworthy articles, previously cited, focus on strike activities of Mexican female garment workers in Los Angeles during the 1930s. Mario García (1980) has published an important recent article in which he focuses on the 1919 strike by laundry workers in El Paso. Another historian (Zamora, 1980) has examined the organizational attempts of Mexican women in Laredo, Texas, during the early 1900s. These few examples of Chicana labor history prior to 1940 are complemented by some studies (Coyle et al., 1979 and Mora and del Castillo, 1980) which focus on strike activities after World War II.

The development of literature on the Chicana working class is presently in a state of infancy. Though a number of exciting dissertations are in progress which will contribute significantly to Chicana history, at present we know far too little about the entire range of experiences for past generations of Mexican women workers.¹⁵ The field is absolutely wide open. To pose key questions for future scholarly investigation would be useless,

¹⁵See Victoria Ruiz, "UCAPAWA, Chicanas, and the California Food Processing Industry," (Stanford University 1962); Patricia Zavella (U.C. Berkeley) is completing an anthropological study on Chicana cannery workers in San Jose; Devra Weber (U.C.L.A.) is working on a history of agricultural unionization and women workers in California.

for virtually all areas of research past and present are necessary. Yet, as the fields of Chicano history, women's history, and U.S. labor history expand so too will our knowledge of the Chicana working class.

Conclusion

There are at least three major conclusions that can be drawn from this historiographic review of recent research on Chicano urban workers for the period from 1848 to 1940. First, while important historical research on Chicano labor has been produced in the past decade, there is still a tremendous amount of basic research needed in the field. In nearly every sub-topical area examined—the development of the Chicano working class, Chicanos in the urban occupational structure, Chicano labor organizing and conflict, and the Chicana worker—some groundbreaking work has been produced, but large gaps in knowledge remain.

Second, the methodologies used by researchers in the field have been largely drawn from the "new" social history. Much of the hard data collected by researchers on the occupational status of Chicano workers in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century have been based on the innovative methodologies characteristic of this field. Foremost among these is the use of quantifiable data to measure the occupational structure of the Mexican population in various southwestern cities. In examining this structure over time, researchers have relied on sources such as the federal manuscript census, city directories, and marriage records. While nearly all of this research has used descriptive statistics to chart this occupational distribution, it is likely that more sophisticated cliometric techniques will be introduced in the near future. This occurrence will likely raise important questions about the appropriate use of quantitative methodologies in the field and the larger issue of the relative value of quantitative versus qualitative research.

Third, most recent historical research on Chicano labor has not made explicit use of theoretical models or conceptual frameworks. Most of the apparently straightforward urban histories have made, however, implicit use of modernization theory and traditional sociological literature on social stratification and social mobility. Elements of these theories have been found in the work of authors such as Richard Griswold del Castillo, Mario Garcia, and Ricardo Romo. The only author to explicitly reject this ap-

proach and uses a framework drawn from Marxist and internal colonial literature is Mario Barrera.¹⁶

Critical dialogue on theory in historical research needs to be seriously broached in the near future. Scholars must critically examine and discuss the merits of alternative theoretical and methodological approaches in the field. Such discussions will likely raise the larger question of historical interpretation of the Chicano working class experience.

Relatedly, this dialogue will likely raise the larger question of historical interpretation of the Chicano working class experience in the Southwest. Research in Chicano history has certainly reached the juncture where wide-ranging debate on key historical issues needs to occur. It is likely that such dialogue among scholars will contribute greatly to the future development of the field. Overall, the prospects for future research and debate on Chicano working class history are exciting and offer the promise of significant advances in this emerging area of research.

¹⁶ Aside from Barrera's book, there exists numerous studies of Chicano labor in rural areas that utilize Marxist categories. See, for example, the following: Andrés E. Jiménez, "The Political Formation of a Mexican Working Class in the Arizona Copper Industry, 1870-1917," Larry Trujillo, "Race, Class, Labor, and Community: A Local History of Capitalist Development," and David Montejano, "Is Texas Bigger than the World-System? A Critique from a Provincial Point of View," in the Special Issue of *Review* Vol. IV, No. 3 (Winter 1981). Also see: Tomás Almaguer, "Class, Race, and Capitalist Development: The Social Transformation of a Southern California County, 1848-1903," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1979) and Antonio Rios Bustamante, "New Mexico in the Eighteenth Century: Life, Labor and Trade in la Villa de San Felipe Albuquerque, 1706-1790," *Aztlán* Vol. 7, No. 3 (Fall 1976): 357-387.

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Research on the Chicano Worker

Walter Fogel

My assigned task is to examine and assess the state of research on the Chicano worker. It is not possible for me, or for anyone, to do that on a value-free basis. One of my premises is that we are interested in Chicano workers because they are disadvantaged workers in the U.S. society and we would like in some way or another to change that. Research which tells us more about the Chicano worker may help to achieve that goal. I also assume that Chicanos, like everyone else, work principally for the earnings which work provides, but also for social and psychic satisfaction as well.

Having stated these general work objectives, and before I can begin to assess the research on the Chicano worker, I need a general framework of notions about how these end results of work are obtained in our society—because it is within such a framework that the research on the Chicano worker should be taking place. Before going any further I wish to state that, although I shall stay with the simplifying custom of using masculine

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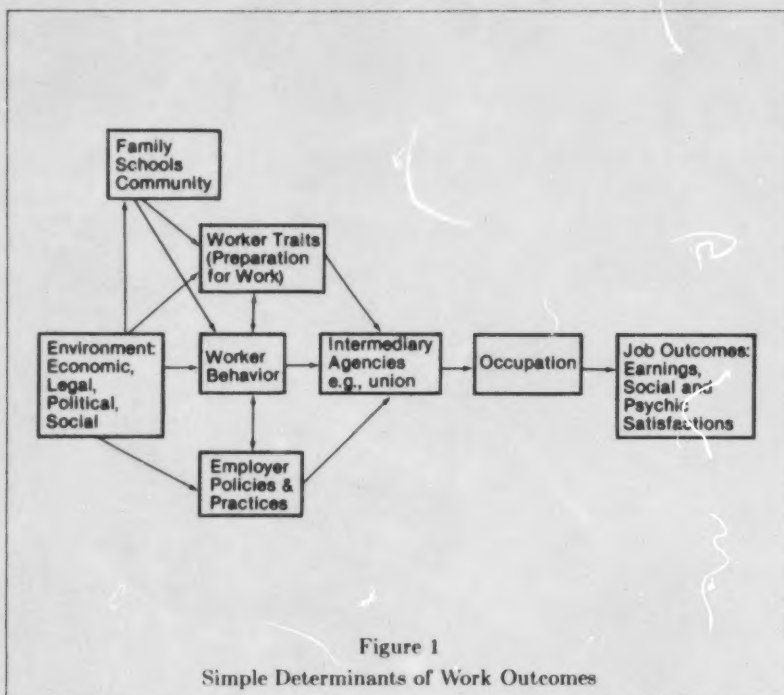
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pronouns in this paper, I fully recognize that the Chicano worker is female as well as male.

A simple framework will do for my purposes here (it is presented spatially in Figure 1). Earnings and social and psychic satisfactions depend upon the job that a worker holds, and that, in turn, depends upon worker traits including his preparation for work, his behavior at work, and the policies and practices of the employer and his agents, including fellow employees. Intermediary institutions, such as employment services, unions, and community support groups, can influence the job impact of all three of these variables. Influences which are even further removed from the work site—what I call the social, political, and economic environment of the city, region, and nation—may have an influence as well. My framework includes only three background variables which affect a worker's traits and work behavior—schooling, the family, and the community. Much complexity could be added by delineating the many factors which influence the preparation of individuals for work, their behavior at work, and the policies and practices of employers, but there is no need to add complexity for my purposes here.

This simple framework, where the rewards for work depend upon the quality of one's job—that is, on one's place in the occupational hierarchy—and, in turn, one's job depends upon his preparation for work, his work behavior, and employer practices, with the possibility of broad environmental influence on each of these variables. This simple framework can be useful as a base for examining and assessing current research on the Chicano worker. Metaphorically, my procedure will be to lay the existing research over this framework in order to assess the fit. I shall call attention to areas of the underlying skeleton which are both well padded and bare, in terms of knowledge which has been provided by research.

This framework initially suggests several broad questions which research should be attempting to answer if it is to make any contributions to understanding the Chicano worker and, ultimately, to helping him. First, what are the final outcomes of the Chicano work experience—the earnings and satisfactions which this worker obtains from his work (and his lack of work when he is unemployed)? Second, what are the effects of behavioral variations on these outcomes—variations in the preparation that one brings to the job market—in the worker's behavior on the job, and in employer policies and practices with respect to Chicano and other workers? Third, what are the impacts of different external environments on the Chicano



worker—the economic, social, political, and legal environments which may, or may not, impinge upon work experience?

These are the broad questions which I believe research should attempt to answer for all workers in the society, not just those who are Chicano or members of some other population component. Many of you will recognize that a dimension must be added to these questions and to my research framework when one turns specifically to the Chicano worker, for much of the interest in that worker is sparked by an interest in *comparing* his outcomes and his behavioral experiences to those of other groups and, to a lesser extent, comparing his experience now to his experiences, of say, ten or twenty years ago. It is an interesting and, perhaps, revealing fact that, while current popular psychology counsels individuals to assess their development against their personal potential or capacity for growth rather than through invidious comparisons with others, when it comes to population groups, comparisons with other groups are the order of the day. The contrast, of

course, occurs because of our knowledge that capacities and tastes vary widely among individuals and the assumption that they do not vary among groups, even across age and sex groups, to say nothing of ethnic groups. Regardless of the coercive power of this assumption on individual lives, and I believe it is substantial, it is a fact that today's concern with the Chicano worker requires comparisons of his work experiences and outcomes with those of other population groups, most notably with Anglos. Then our research questions become: How do Chicano job outcomes compare with those of Anglos and others, and how do different worker traits and behaviors pay off for Chicanos in comparison to others?

In the next section I will briefly summarize the findings of recent research on these questions.

Chicano Workers—An Overview

The following is intended to be only a very concise summary of well established research findings about the Chicano worker. It will not attempt to incorporate very recent research which may add importantly to that subject but has not yet done so.

Outcomes

Statistics on work outcomes for Chicanos are more readily available than they used to be, but are still not adequate for providing up-to-date information. The results of the 1980 census of population will be helpful, but will already be somewhat dated by the time they are published, sometime in 1982.

Income is the single most important statistic we use for assessing work outcomes. The most recent data available for Chicanos, that is, for Mexican origin people, are for 1979. In that year the median family income of Chicanos was \$15,171, which was 74 percent of the median for all white families.(U.S. Census Bureau, 1981a). The reference group used for comparison makes a difference. In 1979, Chicano median family income was 77 percent of that of all U.S. families, 104 percent of all Spanish- origin families, and 130 percent of black family income.(U.S. Census Bureau, 1981b). Chicano relative income is lowest in comparison with Anglos, but that breakdown of the white population is frequently unavailable.

Chicano males have average incomes which are about 72 percent of those of all white males. Chicanas do a little better in relative terms, with annual incomes which are 83 percent of the figure for all white females.

Table 1
Median Family Income, Mexican Origin
as a Percent of All Whites, 1970-79

Year	Percent
1970	70.1
1971	70.6
1972	68.5
1973	67.0
1974	71.1
1975	66.9
1976	66.4
1977	70.1
1978	69.9
1979	74.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20 (Washington, D.C.) various issues.

Table 1 traces Chicano relative family income through the 1970s. It can be seen that the 1979 relative income figure of 74 percent was the highest for the decade by almost three percentage points. Whether the 1979 figure is just an aberration of some kind, or whether it represents an enduring rise in the income position of Chicanos are questions which only subsequent experience can answer.

Turning to data on occupations of employment, it is easy to see the source of Chicano income problems. They are greatly underrepresented in the high earnings occupations, such as professionals and managers. They are at least proportionately employed in all other major occupational categories, including the comparatively well paid craft category. It is quite evident that the job mobility required for Chicano income parity is movement into the elite managerial and professional jobs.

The unemployment experience of Chicanos continues to be between that of Anglos and blacks. More precisely, the Chicano rate is about one and one half times that of Anglos, running at a rate of 9.4 percent in the third quarter of 1981, compared to 6.2 percent for all whites and 15.9 percent for blacks. (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1981). The labor

force participation of Chicanas continues to be below that of Anglo women, although the gap is narrowing.

In regard to less objective outcomes, I have not seen research on the nonwage compensation of Chicanos, but I think it can be said that this form of compensation is even less satisfactory than earnings because Chicanos tend to be employed in smaller firms and smaller firms provide relatively small amounts of nonwage compensation. I have seen only one study which dealt with Chicano job satisfaction. Its finding that Chicanos have lower levels of job satisfaction than other workers, even when occupational level and earnings are controlled, is important but must be considered tentative. (Sullivan and Pedroza-Bailey, 1979).

That, in brief, state the comparatively unfavorable outcomes of work for Chicanos. Let us now turn to research which explains how these outcomes have occurred.

Worker Characteristics and Behavior

Most of the research which attempts to explain Chicano earnings has dealt with worker characteristics which influence job earnings. Very little has been done connecting worker behavior and employer practices to individual earnings.

The earnings payoffs to schooling and other human capital variables have received considerable attention. Four competent studies all report fairly similar results for the earnings gains which result from schooling. (Carliner, 1976; Chiswick, 1979; Gwartney and Long, 1978; Reimers, 1980). An additional year of schooling increases the annual earnings of Chicano males by four or five percent.¹ This compares to a range of five to seven percent for Anglo males. There is less agreement for females, with Reimers (1980) reporting only a 3.4 percent increase in earnings to Chicanas for each year of schooling, while Gwartney and Long (1978) found gains of twice that amount. In general, however, the findings on schooling are clear: greater

¹A three percent increase per year of schooling is reported in David L. Featherman and Robert M. Hauser, *Opportunity and Change*, (New York, Academic Press), 1978, pp. 457-58. Following the completion of this paper, I received a copy of Marta Tienda and associates, *Hispanic Origin Workers in the U.S. Labor Market*, report to the U.S. Department of Labor, 1981. The research results reported in that volume for Chicanos are generally consistent with those reported here. The report is recommended to those interested in greater detail than reported here.

years of schooling do provide substantial earnings gains to the Chicano worker, although the gains are not as large as those received by Anglos for a given quantity of schooling. Years of job experience also pay off for Chicanos, at about 2.5 percent for each year (Chiswick, 1979; Reimers, 1980). This, again, is a bit lower than the payoffs to Anglos.

Having the Spanish language as a mother tongue has been found to have a sizeable negative impact on the earnings of Chicano males. This characteristic lowered earnings by 19 percent in Chiswick's study and by 15 percent in Gwartney and Long's study, compared to otherwise equivalent Chicano males whose mother tongue was English.

Foreign birth (presumably in Mexico for Chicanos) has been shown to have a large negative effect on the earnings of Mexican immigrants, as well as on the earnings of immigrants to the U.S. in general. However, the negative effect is greatest in the years immediately following immigration; after 15 years or so in this country, the foreign birth is no longer an earnings disadvantage. Controlling for other earnings characteristics, the earnings of Mexican-born persons gradually approach and then pass the earnings of native-born persons of Mexican origin (Chiswick, 1978; Featherman and Hauser, 1978; Reimers, 1980).

Location in rural areas and in the South have been found to lower Chicano earnings importantly. The negative effect on earnings of living in the South is at least 25 percent (Chiswick, 1979; Gwartney and Long, 1978). Anglo earnings are also lower in the South, but the regional effect is greater on Chicanos because of the large number of them who live in south Texas, a very low wage area. Of course, lower living costs in the South partially compensate for the lower earnings received there. Related to this regional effect is the more tentative finding that Chicano earnings tend to fall as the Chicano proportion of a state's population rises (Reimers, 1980: 16). This association could well be due to a crowding effect in labor markets comparatively close to the Mexican border. The best earnings of Chicanos, in both absolute terms and relative to Anglos, are received in the Chicago and Detroit areas (Briggs, *et al.*; 1977).

Then, the important sources of variation in Chicano annual earnings are years of schooling, labor market experience, foreign birth for a few years after immigration, English rather than Spanish as a mother tongue, and residence in the South. Improvements in each of these traits will increase Chicano earnings, for aggregates of workers, although not necessarily for a given individual, of course. It must be remembered, however, that

these characteristics explain only about one-fourth of the earnings variation which exists among Chicano workers, which is a little less than the fraction of Anglo earnings variation explained by the same variables. We continue to have considerable ignorance about what determines both Chicano and Anglo earnings.

Several researchers (Featherman and Hauser, 1978; Gwartney and Long, 1978; Reimers, 1980) have used the earnings equations which I have been discussing to estimate the effect of Chicano deficits in earnings characteristics on Anglo-Chicano income differences. The results of these efforts show that at least 75 percent, and possibly as much as 90 percent, of the Anglo-Chicano difference in annual earnings is associated with differences in earnings characteristics, principally the characteristics of schooling, foreign birth, language facility, and location.

The procedure used to obtain these results is to standardize Chicano and Anglo means for all earnings variables, use these standardized means and the Chicano wage equation to generate a Chicano average income, and compute the earnings difference between Chicanos and Anglos which still remains, that is, the earnings difference which is due to different payoffs to earnings characteristics rather than to different levels of the earning characteristics themselves. For example, this technique separates two effects of schooling on Chicano earnings: the effect of comparatively low years of schooling and the effect of comparatively low returns to each year of schooling. Some researchers who have employed this methodology refer to the proportion of the Anglo-Chicano earnings difference which is not explained by different levels of earnings characteristics as a measure of labor market discrimination against the latter. This residual earnings difference is in fact a valid measure of discrimination only if all other earnings related differences between the two groups have been captured by the earnings equations. It is doubtful that this is done by earnings equations which explain only one-quarter of variation in individual earnings. Thus, the residual earnings difference between the two groups incorporates scholarly ignorance as much as societal discrimination.

I shall summarize my summary reporting of research on the Chicano worker at this point. There exists now a small amount of quality research which shows how Chicano earnings depend upon certain traits which the individual worker brings to his job, and also shows that Anglo-Chicano earnings differences result chiefly from group differences in these earnings traits. Lower payoffs to Chicanos for some of these traits contribute significantly to the earnings difference between Anglos and Chicanos.

In my judgment, there is little additional research which reliably informs us about contemporary Chicano workers. That is, there is little research outside of what I called the element of worker traits in the research framework I initially laid out.

I have found only small, isolated studies of how Chicano job behavior, employer policies and practices, and intermediary institutions, such as CETA, affect job outcomes for the Chicano worker. No matter how well done, these studies do not add to our knowledge until they are complemented by other research on larger and non-localized samples.

Turning to the broad external environments which affect the Chicano worker, one finds the suggestion that Chicanos, like blacks, make their fastest job gains when the economy is robust. There also exist historic studies of the socio-political environments which have affected Chicano workers.² These studies provide useful factual knowledge about the history of the Chicano worker, including his commodity-like treatment by employers; however, they add little to our understanding of his current experience.

While I may have missed some studies published in places which I do not follow, I am confident that what I have just reported is an accurate yet brief summary of the most important and reliable knowledge about the current experience of the Chicano worker. With this summary as a backdrop, I will proceed to assess various aspects of the research literature.

Theoretical Perspectives

Two broad, polar-opposite theories, while not dominating the research on the Chicano worker in their extreme forms, set the theoretical boundaries for that research and, in less extreme forms, are implicitly endorsed by most research done on this subject. These theories are the so-called human capital explanation of work earnings and what I call exploitation theory.

In its extreme form, the theory underlying human capital models of worker earnings is that U.S. labor markets are much like the competitive models which appear in textbooks, so that most individual workers earn what they deserve to earn. What they deserve to earn is given by the

²See, for example, Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality* (University of Notre Dame Press), 1979; and Mark Reisler, *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the U.S., 1900-1940*, (Greenwood Press, Westport, Conn.), 1976.

market-determined value to employers of the various productivity, i.e., human capital, characteristics which they bring to their jobs and develop during their work tenures. Then, in its extreme form, human capital theory explains all group differences in earnings by differences in productivity characteristics, while ignoring noncompetitive practices by employers and institutions which have different impacts on different population groups.

Now, it is true that this extreme version of human capital theory is never endorsed in the publications of those who study the Chicano worker, yet, some work does leave the impression that discrimination, intentional or otherwise, against Chicano workers is unimportant. This occurs because the tenor of the work is that earnings are only a function of productivity characteristics, and the unexplained variance in earnings is a result of random and unexpressed forces which operate similarly on all worker aggregates. This implicit theory is wrong in my judgment, because it does not accurately reflect the ways in which job markets operate and earnings are obtained.

Still, all economists and nearly all sociologists, I think, would agree that individual earnings in our society are associated with worker productivity characteristics to some degree. Consequently, human capital research can be highly useful for understanding Chicano work experience, as long as one recognizes that it cannot explain all of that work experience by any means. Human capital theory has made evident an important truth about the Chicano worker: he does enter the labor market with earnings disadvantages, at least on the characteristics of schooling, language facility, and location, and these disadvantages must be removed as one important step toward bringing him into earnings equality.

The exploitation theory of the Chicano worker appears in research which describes the historical utilization of Chicanos in some of society's worst jobs and in contemporary examinations of U.S. institutions. This view attributes the relatively unfavorable earnings of Chicanos to a denial of equitable opportunities by U.S. institutions, such as employers, schools, and governments.

Exploitation theory has been useful in increasing the awareness of both Chicanos and Anglos, alike, to historical and contemporary insensitivity by U.S. institutions to Chicano human rights and needs. It has also increased awareness of the past and present discrimination against this population.

On the other hand, exploitation theory, like pure human capital theory, its polar counterpart, is too simplistic to adequately explain the current experience of Chicano workers. It is not credible to assert or imply that Chicanos are simply pawns, moved about at will by the institutions in the society. The evidence in support of exploitation theories, when any is presented, is weak, particularly contemporary evidence. In this regard, it is not enough to cite evidence that poor Chicanos have very limited opportunities to prepare for work, through the schools, for example. Such opportunities have always been very limited to poor people, yet, considerable occupational mobility among the poor does take place.

Exploitation theorists who deal with the plight of the Chicano worker embrace some kind of notion of how the labor market operates. Interestingly, a few of these researchers endorse a limited kind of human capital theory, limited in the sense that they omit certain earnings variables, such as language facility and location, from their wage equations. This occurrence, of course, produces a large unexplained income difference between Anglos and Chicanos which the author does not hesitate to label as entirely due to discrimination against the latter. Such efforts do serious harm to the cause of Chicano research.

The more common approach is for exploitation theorists to dismiss the relevance of human capital models on the grounds that they do not include enough of the societal influences which ultimately determine one's work experience. They argue, for example, that attributing some of the low Chicano earnings to low levels of schooling ignores the fact that social institutions encourage or even force Chicanos to end their schooling at relatively young ages. I believe this is a valid argument. To fully understand the ultimate causes of Chicano work experience, one must indeed examine fundamental influences on their preparation for work, as well as measure the quantities of preparation which are finally obtained. The difference here is that human capital models attempt to deal precisely with a limited terrain, while exploitationists tackle a larger territory with rather blunt explanatory tools.

A number of scholars who write in the exploitation vein appear to be enamored of secondary labor market theory. Presumably this is because it postulates that the U.S. is characterized by something less than fully competitive labor markets and that Chicanos are disproportionately found in and confined to bad jobs—that is, in secondary labor markets. A theoretical perspective which recognizes institutional influences on labor

markets and, in particular, recognizes the vast differences between the core and periphery economies is attractive because it is accurate. Its implications for understanding the experiences of the Chicano worker, however, are by no means clear. Chicanos are disproportionately employed in unattractive jobs, such as casual labor, but that fact is explicable on non-exploitationist grounds, and the key postulate that Chicanos and others are blocked from moving out of these jobs into better ones is simply not consistent with the evidence (Leigh, 1976).

Extreme versions of both the human capital and exploitationist theories are vulnerable with respect to the underlying assumptions they appear to contain. The former implies that the individual worker has complete control over his labor market destiny, while the latter implies that he has no control. Human capital theorists suggests that earnings depend entirely upon the productivity characteristics that one acquires, while ignoring the role played by worker associations with a social group, union, occupational association, entrepreneurial tradition, or political clique. Exploitationists, on the other hand, insultingly portray the individual as though his destiny is completely in the hands of external forces over which he has no power to affect.

Interestingly, the policy prescriptions which can be drawn from each of these positions in my judgment are both extreme and harmful. The human capital position implies a policy of *laissez faire*, with the possible exception of societal support for individual acquisition of human capital. This, of course, would support maintenance of the *status quo*. It would permit groups with power to continue to exercise it. The exploitationists, on the other hand, would have society intervene widely with programs to provide support for Chicanos to achieve parity. While some programs may be helpful in that regard, I think we now know that ill-considered programs of intervention can hurt the cause of those they are intended to help, particularly where they create a stifling dependency of the served group on the ephemeral good will of the society at large.

An Improved Perspective

In order to properly understand the Chicano worker, it is necessary to recognize that *both* the human capital and exploitation perspectives have something to say about the Chicano worker and that either perspective by itself is inadequate for understanding his experience. The work experience of the Chicano worker is the combined result of his own individual effort

and of society's institutional arrangements which bear upon him. While researchers can certainly limit their own work to one of these perspectives, they must be very careful to limit the implications of their research results, so that readers, including policymakers, are not misinformed. In order to improve his work experience, the Chicano worker must change and society must change. Recognition of those truths is a prerequisite to useful research in this field.

In addition, to increase the usefulness of research on the Chicano worker, scholars must recognize that comparatively large numbers of Chicanos are immigrants or descendants of immigrants. It may seem inaccurate to consider Chicanos a recent immigrant population when some members of that population have ancestors who have lived for several centuries in places which later became parts of the U.S. Yet, the facts prove the validity of that characterization. Twenty nine percent of the persons of Mexican origin, age 20 and over, living in the U.S. are foreign born. Another 41.9 percent have at least one parent who was born abroad, presumably in Mexico. (U.S. Census Bureau, 1973). This compares to 6.8 percent foreign born and 15.5 percent second generation for the total population of the U.S., age 20 and over. Thus, 71 percent of the adult Chicano population consists of immigrants and their offspring. Another fact, one which differentiates Chicanos from earlier immigrant groups, is that ninety percent of Mexican origin adults have Spanish as their mother tongue. (Chiswick, 1979: 6-14). A third fact is that Mexican immigrants tend to settle in labor markets which are relatively close to the Mexican border, and this produces some crowding of low skilled workers in these markets, as well as the possibility of an easy return to their native country.

These facts demonstrate the immigrant status of Chicanos and helps to explain their labor market experience. Recent immigration, language disfunction, and labor market crowding are all important influences on labor market success. They have great influence on the aggregate experience of the Chicano worker because they are so frequently found among Chicano workers. Chicanos are a disadvantaged group whose aggregate work experiences are very importantly influenced by past and present immigration. In my judgment, an adequate theoretical perspective for research on the Chicano worker must recognize this fact.

Methods

Economists and some sociologists who write about the Chicano worker predominately employ multi-variate analyses by means of least squares

regressions. Historians, of course, search for documents of any kind which will shed light on their research subject. Large and small household surveys are employed by those doing contemporary research in a variety of disciplines.

Researchers sometimes forget that the choice of research methods should follow the posing of research questions, and that the methods chosen should be selected for their capacity to answer the research questions, rather than because they complement some murky data which happen to be available, because most other researchers are using these methods, or because they are "safe" in the sense that they will at least produce tangible results. The best way to get an article published these days, everyone knows, is to obtain some quantifiable data which permit the computer to run multiple regressions. Unfortunately, many of these data only answer uninteresting questions, no matter how sophisticatedly they are analyzed.

Research on the Chicano worker and on most other subjects in the social sciences overemphasizes methodology and underemphasizes substance. We often forget that our justification for being is not to demonstrate command of methodologies, but to add to knowledge, in this case, to knowledge about the Chicano worker.

The method which I would like to see used much more frequently is not really a research method in the modern sense of that term. It is simply intelligent digging for information in one's chosen field of inquiry. By that I mean finding out what one wants to know through field questions, discussion, and observation, by using one's mind to comprehend the totality of the information obtained, and, finally, by describing and assessing what has been learned in a manner that is intelligible to the general reader, rather than only to a small group of academicians or government bureaucrats.

Research Needs

Today we know considerably more about the Chicano worker than we did fifteen or twenty years ago when I began to work on this subject. Thanks to increases in the data obtained and published by the federal government, we know a fair amount about the earnings outcomes of employment for Chicanos. Perhaps in the future we will begin to learn about the psychic outcomes of this employment as well.

We also know some things about worker characteristics and how these characteristics affect occupation of employment and, particularly, how they

affect earnings. We know that generally the determinants of Chicano earnings are like those of other populations. They include schooling, experience, location, language facility, and marital status. Schooling does not payoff for Chicanos as well as for Anglos, at least below the college level. This is not entirely discouraging because part of the correlation between schooling and earnings is caused by the fact that in our society people who have high earnings due to their abilities and family connections tend to obtain considerable schooling. In short, causality runs from earnings to schooling as well as in the reverse direction, but Chicanos do not yet benefit much from that fact. We know more about the history of the Chicano worker and that the Anglo stereotype of him as a twentieth century, migrant farmworker in the Southwest is wrong. We suspect, strongly, that the Chicano worker makes his best gains when the national economy is operating at a high level. We also suspect that the public policy climate of assistance for minorities which prevailed in much of the 1960s and 1970s was helpful, although there is no clear evidence on this point.

Looking at the research framework which I sketched at the beginning of this paper, we find that a number of research needs remain unmet. They include: worker behavior, the policies and practices of institutions with respect to the Chicano worker, the conduct of market intermediaries, and the connection of value systems to the acquisition of worker traits and to worker behavior at work.

It is interesting to note that what we do know comes from questions which can be answered with objective responses to matters which are relatively circumscribed, such as annual earnings, school years completed, job experience, and the like. We know very little about the subjective experiences of the Chicano worker, as that worker, himself, sees those experiences and as they are seen by his employer, supervisor and co-workers. Limiting our inquiries to objective matters limits the knowledge we obtain. Imagine a novelist (for example, Sinclair Lewis in *Babbitt*, or John Marquand in *Point of No Return*) attempting to tell us about the work experience of his characters while limited to presenting the objective facts of their schooling, occupation, length of job tenure, and earnings. We would, then, know little that is important about that work experience and its antecedents, and would be able to say nothing of how the work experience might have been different beyond a probabilistic and rather uninteresting statement that more schooling and experience might have brought about a higher paying job. Contrast such skeletal description with the rich socio-psychological character development provided by good novelists such as

Lewis and Marquand and you will see where we are and where I think we should be going with research on the Chicano worker.

I am not urging any of you to set your sights on a Pulitzer prize. Even if you were to win one, you would not be able to get promoted because your results would not be subject to verification. Yet, clearly, we need deeper information, some of it subjective in nature, to better understand the Chicano worker and to give him some help.

We need to know what motivates his work effort, what turns him off about work, how he responds to different kinds of supervision and different kinds of work, how he prefers to interact with co-workers, what kinds of tasks he likes and dislikes. We also need to know how the Chicano worker is seen by his supervisor, in a variety of industrial settings, the prevailing work climate in firms where Chicanos have done especially well, the kinds of minority support programs which work and don't work. Finally, there is the vast area of culture and values, how they are obtained, how they affect the Chicano worker's preparation for work—particularly his school experiences—and how they affect his work experience itself.

I am suggesting that we need more hard work in research areas which are difficult to research—the answers to the questions I've posed can only be obtained through intensive field research which relies on questioning and observation. I recognize the difficulty of conducting this kind of research and I also recognize that the academic rewards for conducting it may not be great, since the finished product may contain more soft than hard data and more tentative discussions than bottom lines. Yet, the knowledge obtained through these researches can be substantial, going much beyond our current superficial level. That, in itself, can be a substantial reward.

Those of us who work in the social sciences should take a hard look at the current state of research in them. If we did so, I think we would find that most research is primarily motivated by the desire for job security, that job security is safely pursued by the publication of research of very limited social significance in obscure places which are seen only by a few scholars like ourselves, and that the vast majority of this research has absolutely no impact on the lives of the people of this or any other country. In short, most of us, in our research, are engaging in activity which simply maintains ourselves and the institutions which employ us, and any contributions we do make to a larger social purpose is entirely serendipitous. Alas, we have much in common with other employees of other institutions.

This general state of affairs is especially disquieting as it affects research on the Chicano worker because that worker and his experiences greatly need understanding and help. We need knowledge which goes deeply into the nature and behavior of the Chicano worker and the institutions which affect him, and we need to have this information communicated to the society at large. Perhaps the future will bring forth capable scholars who have the courage to pursue these objectives despite the risks to their own livelihoods.

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Traditions of Research on the Chicano Worker

Mario Barrera

Introduction

I have been asked to comment on the papers prepared for this symposium by Walter Fogel and by Tomás Almaguer and Alberto Camarillo. On reading these papers I was immediately struck by how different they seemed from each other. While the papers cover different time periods, this in itself is not enough to explain why they seem so different. On reflection, I concluded that part of the explanation lies in the fact that the two papers are derived from very different traditions of writing on the Chicano worker. As a result, I decided to approach my topic by first identifying and describing the various traditions, and then commenting on the two papers by placing them in that context.

What follows, then, is not a review of the literature, as Almaguer and Camarillo present, or an explanatory model, as in the Fogel paper. It

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is, rather, a typology based on the literature on the Chicano worker, with mention made of some of the key works in each tradition.

The concept of "tradition" I have used in a broad sense. Some studies form a tradition because of their similarities in style, approach, purpose, and definition of the problem. Others form a tradition because the authors self-consciously place their works in the context of earlier writings. Some of these traditions are relatively old, some quite young. These traditions are somewhat like "genres" in creative literature, sharing a set of conventions that serve to locate a work with respect to other writings, and that provide the reader with a set of signals about how the author chooses to orient his work in relation to social reality.

The scope of the typology includes studies on rural as well as urban workers, but I have not made extensive reference to works which are exclusively concerned with the immigration of labor from Mexico.

In classifying studies by tradition, I have placed primary emphasis on a study's value orientation and on its relation to social theory, if any. Topic and method have been used as secondary criteria in this process of classification. It is important to keep in mind that most of these traditions have somewhat fuzzy boundaries, and that some studies overlap traditions.

The paper concludes with a review of the theoretical formulations that can be found in these traditions of research, and with a critical discussion of the various policy proposals to be found in these works. In this latter section, I emphasize the limitations of traditional reformist policy proposals and suggest an alternative based on "nonreformist reforms."

Traditions of Research

Studies of the Chicano worker can be thought of in terms of eight traditions. The first five which will be described below are the utilitarian, the reformist, the assimilationist, the structural subordination, and the academic traditions. The last three cluster together in what I have called the "historic goals" group, and they include the community/labor, the political economy area studies, and the labor history tradition.

Utilitarian. This tradition dates back to 1908 and the publication of Victor Clark's *Mexican Labor in the United States* by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. The goal of this tradition is to make possible the more efficient use of Chicano and Mexican labor, usually by large corporations. The overriding concern is thus with the regulation of the labor supply. It

has a policy orientation, but the perspective adopted is that of the employer and the state.

This tradition includes the Report of Governor C. C. Young's Mexican Fact-Finding Committee entitled *Mexicans in California*, published in 1930, which included a section on the labor needs of California agriculture; Sullivan and Blair's *Women in Texas Industries* (1936); and Nelson and Meyer's *Labor Requirements and Labor Resources in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas* (1950). Charles Loomis' "Wartime Migration from the Rural Spanish-speaking Villages of New Mexico" begins forthrightly by stating "This report has been prepared to furnish to the agencies charged with the responsibility of supplying workers to farmers and ranchers, many of whom are now clamoring for laborers, objective information concerning the labor supply remaining in the villages." (Loomis, 1942: 385)

Reformist. The reformist tradition is concerned with questions of equity and discrimination in the treatment of the Chicano worker. Very often the focus is on poverty and unemployment rates. Writers in this tradition will generally offer policy recommendations which are intended to be ameliorative, which is to say that they remain within the existing economic and social framework and propose limited changes. This type of study is part of a long Anglo-American tradition, which can trace its roots to the nineteenth-century British commissions which were charged with investigating conditions in the factories of the industrial revolution. In the United States' its first academic embodiment was in the American Association for the Promotion of Social Science, founded in 1865, and the parent organization for the American Historical Association, the American Economic Association, the American Prison Association, the American Political Science Association, and the American Sociological Society. This orientation was thus embedded in the very formation of American social scholarship, and has continued in an unbroken chain to this day.

Pauline Kibbe's *Latin American in Texas* (1946), is a prime example of this tradition applied to the Chicano worker. After providing an overview of the social and economic conditions of Chicanos in Texas in the 1940s, Kibbe concludes with a long list of problems and a long list of recommended solutions. Among the economic evils she lists are unfair employment practices, discrimination against Chicanos by management and unions, and the preference of employers for illegal immigrant workers from Mexico. Among the remedies proposed are a statute prohibiting discrimination in industrial employment, establishing trades preparedness programs for adults, and

devising means for prohibiting the influx of illegal agricultural workers (Kibbe, 1946:274).

Among other works in this general tradition are Menefee and Cassmore's *The Pecan Shellers of San Antonio* (1940) and several dissertations on discrimination patterns in Texas (Brookshire, 1954; Jones, 1965; Landoldt, 1965). It includes as well a number of works by Walter Fogel and his collaborators. Fogel's *Mexican Americans in Southwest Labor Markets* (1967) is largely a descriptive study but is cast in terms of measuring Chicano employment disadvantage and identifying its sources. While he does not go in depth into policy analysis, he recommends greater Chicano-Black cooperation in attacking discrimination and discusses limiting Mexican immigration, although without coming to a definite conclusion (Fogel, 1967: 196, 197).

Vernon Briggs, in his *Chicanos and Rural Poverty* (1973), provides more specific recommendations for reform. He calls for rigid restriction of immigration, economic aid and technical assistance for the development of Mexico, greater coverage for rural workers by social legislation, and more manpower programs in rural areas. (Briggs, 1973: 76-69). A more recent review of the labor market experience of Chicanos is provided in *The Chicano Worker*, by Briggs, Fogel and Fred Schmidt(1977).

Fred Romero's monograph, *Chicano Workers: Their Utilization and Development* (1979), is grounded in the work done by Fogel. Romero, whose background is in manpower training, stresses low educational attainment as an impediment to mobility (Romero, 1979: 98ff). Most of his recommended reforms have to do with improved manpower training and counseling.

Another mini-tradition within the tradition seeks to measure the "costs" of being a Chicano worker. Poston and Alvarez's "On the Cost of Being a Mexican American Worker" (1973) has been followed by similar studies by Poston, Alvarez and Tienda (1976) and Tatcho Mindiola (1980). These studies all seek to measure how much of the Anglo-Chicano earning differential can be attributed to racial discrimination, with Mindiola focusing on the added dimension of gender.

Two lengthy reports prepared by Marta Tienda and her collaborators follow up on the type of labor force analysis pursued by Fogel, but are more technical methodologically (Tienda, 1981a; 1981b). The approach is essentially one of statistically testing a large number of variables in order to account for such factors as differential income attainment and labor

force participation. While there are no explicit policy recommendations in these reports, the underlying value orientation is indicated by the types of questions asked of the data.

Assimilationist. There are a number of studies which deal with Chicano workers which are based on an assimilationist perspective. D'Antonio and Samora, for example, examined the location of Chicanos in the occupational structure of ten southwestern hospitals (D'Antonio and Samora, 1962). Their findings are put in the context of a framework devised by Warner and Srole for predicting how long it takes various minority groups to assimilate into the structure of American society. Essentially, they look at structural assimilation as indicated by occupational mobility, and find that Chicanos are assimilating faster than the Warner-Srole model would predict.

A larger study by Shannon and Shannon, *Minority Migrants in the Urban Community* (1973), examines factors determining the rate of assimilation of working class Chicanos in Racine, Wisconsin, with an emphasis on economic absorption. While they make some policy recommendations for improving health and welfare services to Chicanos, this is a secondary emphasis in their work.

The well known volume by Grebler, Moore and Guzman, entitled *The Mexican American People* (1970), contains a considerable amount of information on employment patterns of Chicanos, and is put in an overall assimilationist framework.

Structural subordination. A fourth tradition of research might be labeled the "structural subordination" school. Writers in this tradition share with the reformists a concern with discrimination and poverty, but their analysis has a different tone. They tend to stress structural factors in explaining group subordination, finding discrimination to be more deeply rooted in the social structure. Rather than emphasizing prejudice, they focus more on the economic motivations of employers and the strong employer-government ties that make the situation resistant to change.

Among this group one can count Carolyn Zeleny's often-quoted 1944 dissertation, *Relations Between the Spanish-Americans and Anglo-Americans in New Mexico*. While Zeleny struggles to put her findings in an accommodation framework, the role of employer interests plays a major role in her work. Ozzie Simmons' 1952 dissertation, *Anglo Americans and Mexican Americans in South Texas: A Study in Dominant-Subordinate*

Group Relations, describes Chicanos as occupying a "semi-caste" status, and explicitly discusses the role of economic interests. Joseph Park's famous 1961 Master's Thesis, *The History of Mexican Labor in Arizona During the Territorial Period*, amply documents the manipulations of mining entrepreneurs in that field of employment. Reisler's *By the Sweat of Their Brow* (1976), covers both rural and urban labor for the 1900-1940 period. The theme of Miller and Maril's *Poverty in the Lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas* (1979) can be summed up in a short quotation: "Historical documentation supports the argument that the high ratio of poverty among Mexican Americans tends to be in part a consequence of Anglo American economic and political domination. Thus we purport that local poverty is to an extent a *regulated* phenomenon." (Miller and Maril, 1979: 61)

Fred Schmidt's *Spanish Surnamed American Employment in the Southwest* (1970), which must have the most awkward title of any work on the Chicanos, is a curious kind of hybrid. Funded by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, this study has a clear ameliorative intent and makes a number of specific policy recommendations in good reformist style. Yet the analysis of caste-like barriers to economic mobility has more in common with the structural subordination tradition.

Generally speaking, writers in this tradition offer few policy recommendations, possibly because they sense that the types of structural changes their analysis calls for are unlikely to be acceptable to policy-making bodies.

Academic studies. There are a relatively small number of studies which do such a good job of concealing any value or theoretical orientation that they are difficult to place in any of the other traditions. These studies usually content themselves with describing a particular situation in as neutral a manner as possible. Among them one can list Harold Shapiro's "The Pecan Shellers of San Antonio, Texas" (1952), Penalosa and McDonagh's "Social Mobility in a Mexican-American Community" (1966), George Kiser's "Mexican American Labor Before World War II" (1971), and Alwyn Barr's "Occupational and Geographic Mobility in San Antonio, 1870-1900" (1970).

The "historic goals" cluster. There are three relatively new "traditions" or schools of research on the Chicano worker. All of them date from the 1970s, although all have precursors in earlier works. They form a cluster because of their common orientation to what I have called the "historic goals" of Chicano political and community organizations.

In another paper (Barrera, 1981), I have argued that Chicano organizations have historically espoused two major types of goals. The first is that of equality, defined as equality between Anglos and Chicanos. The second, which I call "community," refers to a desire to maintain Chicanos as a group with a distinctive collective identity and a measure of control over its own group life and the institutions which affect it. Manifestations of this second goal are often referred to as Chicano nationalism or as a desire for self-determination.

These goals have not been equally salient in different historical periods. A number of late nineteenth century and early twentieth century organizations, such as the mutual aid societies, emphasized community. Organizations originating from the 1920s to the 1950s, such as LULAC, CSO, and MAPA, stressed equality. The distinctive thing about Chicano organizations of the 1960s and 1970s, such as La Raza Unida and MECHA, is that they emphasized both simultaneously. Indeed, a combined focus on equality and community is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the entire Chicano movement which began in the 1960s. The reason this is significant for our purposes is that virtually all of the Chicano scholars who have been publishing on the Chicano worker in the 1970s and 1980s were strongly influenced by the values of this movement. Those values have been substantially incorporated into our work. I would like to illustrate this by examining each of the three traditions which make up this cluster.

Community/labor studies. Studies in this tradition have been carried out primarily by Chicano historians doing what is often referred to as the new urban history. Key works in this young tradition include Alberto Camarillo's *Chicanos in a Changing Society* (1979), Mario Garcia's *Desert Immigrants* (1981), Richard Griswold Del Castillo's *The Los Angeles Barrio 1850-1890* (1979), Ricardo Romo's 1975 dissertation, "Mexican Workers in the City: Los Angeles, 1915-1930," and Pedro Castillo's 1979 dissertation, *The Making of a Mexican Barrio: Los Angeles, 1890-1920*, as well as a number of articles by these and other authors. All of these works focus on a particular community, and all give considerable attention to the work experience of Chicanos in those communities.

These works, which draw inspiration from the type of social history associated with such writers as Stephen Thernstrom, are quite central to recent Chicano scholarship. I suggest that one of the reasons for the relatively sudden emergence of this school of research is that it allowed Chicano historians of the post-1960s generation to combine their interest in

questions of equality and questions of community. It also helps explain why these writings have attracted so much attention among Chicano scholars in general.

This tradition, as well as the tradition of political economy area studies described below, frequently acknowledges an intellectual debt to Carey McWilliams and to Paul Taylor. While neither of these scholars carried out community studies as such, both paid particular attention to the Chicano work experience, and both wrote from a point of view sympathetic to the Chicano community. These writers should thus be seen as precursors of this tradition, although not properly part of it in a narrow sense.

The dual value orientation of these studies is not difficult to detect. Camarillo, for example, begins his book with a reference to identity: "The search by Americans for their ethnic, cultural, and family roots has become especially prevalent in recent years." (Camarillo, 1979: 1) A few sentences later, he indicates his concern with inequality by stating that "Chicano history is...part of that larger history of westward expansion by the United States and its subsequent domination of societies with different racial, cultural, socioeconomic, and political characteristics." (Camarillo, 1979: 2) Griswold del Castillo prefaces his book by noting that

The main theme of this work is the economic, familial, societal, and geopolitical metamorphosis of this unique Spanish-language culture. How did the new ethnic group evolve? In attempting to answer this question, writers and scholars have suggested that racial discrimination, cultural oppression, and outright violence have been major forces molding the Mexican-American experience. (Griswold del Castillo, 1979: xi)

These dual themes can be found throughout all of these works.

Political economy area studies. A number of young Chicano scholars in recent years who are trained in the social sciences have conducted studies which share the value orientation of the community/labor tradition but are not focused on one particular city. David Montejano's working paper, *Race, Labor Repression, and Capitalist Agriculture: Notes from South Texas, 1920-1930* (1977) explicitly follows up on Paul Taylor's work and draws upon interview material which Taylor collected. Another 1977 working paper, Andres Jimenez's *Political Domination in the Labor Market: Racial Division in the Arizona Copper Industry* (1977) applies the analysis

of labor repression to that economic sector. Tomás Almaguer analyzes changing class and racial relations in Ventura County in the nineteenth century in his 1979 dissertation, "Class, Race, and Capitalist Development: The Social Transformation of a Southern California County, 1848-1903". Daniel Moreno's 1981 dissertation, "Social Equality and Industrialization: A Case Study of the Colorado Beet Sugar Industry", applies labor market segmentation theory to that industry. My own book, *Race and Class in the Southwest* (1979), also fits into this tradition, although analyzing a broader geographical area. Larry Trujillo's study of Parlier, California, shares a great deal with the works of this tradition, although it is focused on one community. (Trujillo, 1978a; 1978b)

All of the works in this tradition have focused on the interrelationships of race and class in shaping the Chicano experience, and particularly in maintaining inequality. All make use of a political economy approach, loosely based in historical materialism.

Labor history. The third tradition in this cluster has also been quite vigorous in the last decade. This consists of historical studies of Chicano workers' organizations and labor conflict. A quotation from one of the seminal articles in this tradition will serve to give an orientation to this type of study and to place it with respect to the historic goals:

The most important determining aspect for the Chicano community is its economic role and position. Thus, it is pre-eminently important to understand Chicano labor history. Labor history enlightens the following: the impact of economic changes on the community, the development of internal divisions and their political reflections in the community, the degree of tension between the Chicano and the larger society, the pattern of resistance, the degree of politicization and cohesion, the role of government agencies in regard to the community, the attitudes toward and possibility of inter-minority cooperation, the state of class-consciousness and how in given circumstances it transcends national antagonisms...If the Chicano community is to change its present situation, it will be on the basis of economic and political power. For workers, the unions are the historic vehicles for the realization of self-determined change. (Gomez-Quinones, 1972: 13-14)

Other works in this tradition include Ronald Lopez's study "The El Monte Berry Strike of 1933" (1970); Devra Weber's article on agricultural workers in the Imperial Valley and Los Angeles (1972); Ramon Chacon's analysis of the 1933 San Joaquin Valley cotton strike (1980); Victor Nelson Cisneros' studies of UCAPAWA in California and Texas (1976, 1978); Tomás Almaguer's discussion of the Japanese-Mexican Labor Association (1980); and much of the Summer 1975 special issue of *Aztlán*, edited by Luis Arroyo and Victor Nelson Cisneros and including articles by Emilio Zamora, Francisco Rosales and Daniel Simon, and the editors. While derived from a different background, the important works of Ernesto Galarza would have to be viewed as part precursor and part component of this tradition. (Galarza, 1964; 1970; 1977) Earlier studies by Stuart Jamieson (1945) and Manuel Gamio (1930; 1931) are also frequently cited in this literature.

The Fogel Paper

It is quite clear that Professor Fogel's paper falls into the reformist tradition, as his first paragraph bears out. Indeed, he is one of the central figures in that tradition in recent years, along with Vernon Briggs and R. Ray Marshall, who has encouraged many of the reformist studies cited earlier. It is not surprising that his work shares most of the strengths and weaknesses of that tradition.

One of the most striking things about the paper is its extremely narrow focus. Professor Fogel really only addresses one very specific question, that of factors influencing the relative earnings of Chicanos. There is far more to research on the Chicano worker than that. He looks at the Chicano worker only as an individual at work. He does not consider the Chicano as a member of a class, for example, nor as a member of a community, as do the authors in the community/labor tradition. He is aware that Chicano workers belong to labor organizations, but makes no reference to works in the labor history tradition.

The study is also markedly ahistorical. Perhaps I could do no better than to quote one of his own collaborators:

The sections next following are statistical accounts of various aspects of present employment patterns. Taken alone they provide but a dim understanding of those pervasive notions that complicate and restrict the employment opportunities of Spanish Surnameds. They are an uncertain guide to corrective action, because the employment problems of Spanish Surnameds can scarcely be

dealt with, nor are they likely to be dealt with in any important sense, without some feeling—and precisely that—for the historical sequence that brings them before the Nation now. (Schmidt, 1970: 7)

The absence of a historical perspective leads Professor Fogel to completely ignore the effects of cumulative disadvantage in explaining the present situation of the Chicano worker. This I would consider to be his key theoretical failing. In many places in his article he adopts what sounds like an almost purely voluntaristic view of human behavior, as when he says

it is not enough to cite evidence that poor Chicanos have very limited opportunities to prepare for work, through the schools, for example. Such opportunities have always been very limited to poor people, yet, considerable occupational mobility among the poor does take place. (p. 43)

A related problem has to do with the absence of any institutional context for treating the questions he addresses. The schematic model he presents in Figure 1 reduces all of the broad institutional framework of the society to a residual variable labeled "environment: economic, legal, political, social." It is stuck at the end of the model and left strictly alone. Without such a framework, of course, it is impossible to even begin to deal with such questions as the present and future trends in the U.S. economy and their probable effects on the Chicano worker. What about automation? Runaway shops? Cutbacks in public programs? The relative decline of the U.S. in the international economy? The omission of historical and institutional context is part and parcel of the tendency in American social science toward what C. Wright Mills devastatingly criticized as "abstracted empiricism" in *The Sociological Imagination*. (1959)

I also detect a contradiction between the kind of research that Professor Fogel advocates and the kinds of studies that he cites. He calls for more studies making use of "soft data" (p. 48) and for "finding out what one wants to know through field questions, discussion, and observation, using one's mind to comprehend the totality of the information obtained." (p. 46) Yet in the early part of his article he says he is going to rely only on "well established research findings" based on large, non-localistic samples (pp. 36, 41). As a result he fails to mention many studies which have been done on the Chicano worker in recent years that fall under the guidelines of

the kind of work he wants to see in the future. Among these are the Jones and Landoldt dissertations cited above; Romero's monograph; the Poston, Alvarez, Tienda, and Mindiola works on the "costs" of being a Chicano worker; the Shannon and Shannon book; Miller and Maril's study of south Texas; and studies by Larry Trujillo, Luis Arroyo, and Ernesto Galarza. In fact the only work by a Chicano author which is even listed is my own book, and it is mentioned only in passing.

I would also argue that Professor Fogel's treatment of what he terms "exploitation" theories is superficial, on several grounds. One is that he lumps together studies which are really in somewhat different traditions. Secondly, he deals with them as if they were attempts to come up with detailed and comprehensive explanations of Chicano workers' earnings, which they are not. Comparing them to human capital models is somewhat like comparing oranges and bananas. It also strikes me as a caricature to say that these writings treat Chicano workers as if they were helpless pawns. Finally, there is a troubling lack of citations in certain parts of the paper, as in pages 43 through 45, where many of his criticisms are made.

Conversely, one of the great strengths of Professor Fogel's paper is that he has a very clear theoretical focus, and a sharply delineated if admittedly incomplete model which is laid out in a schematic diagram. Nowhere else in the literature on the Chicano worker is there presented a model of this type. Given such an approach, it is virtually impossible to indulge in the kind of fuzzy generalities that mar not only this literature but most of the social science literature on any topic. Such a model highlights not only what we know but what we do not know, and helps to point the way for future research efforts.

The Almaguer/Camarillo Paper

This paper is interesting in that it involves the collaboration of a historian and a scholar trained in the social sciences. In this, it illustrates well the cooperation and exchange that has existed in recent years in Chicano studies research among scholars trained in different disciplines. It is also noteworthy in that virtually all of the works highlighted in this review fall within the three traditions which I have grouped together in the "historic goals" cluster. The inherent compatibility of these studies, despite their somewhat differing approaches and topics, resides in their common orientation to those historic goals.

I would restate the conclusions of Almaguer and Camarillo a little differently by saying that the major emphases in most of these works have

to do with the institutionalized nature of racial inequality and with the role of employer interests historically in creating and maintaining that inequality. The various formulations that these conclusions have taken, whether "racial dualism," "labor repression," "internal colonialism," or "class segmentation," should not obscure the fact that they are all basically saying the same thing. This they share in common with the structural subordination tradition, but not with the other four traditions.

The comment that is made in this paper about the misuse of occupational categories as class surrogates should not be overstated, in my opinion. Scholars working with census materials have little control of their data, and it would be surprising indeed if the Census Bureau devised occupational categories based on a breakdown along the lines of capitalist, proletariat, and petty bourgeois. Clearly the state in a capitalist society is not going to point out the existence of classes, given that an important part of its function is precisely to obscure those divisions. Scholars working with these materials thus have to use what they've got. I would certainly applaud any survey researchers, however, who took these class categories seriously in constructing their questionnaires, since they do have control over their data. It would even be possible to run multiple regression equations and factor analysis on it.

I have several comments on future directions in this type of research which are suggested by the Almaguer/Camarillo discussion. Comparative studies would certainly be very helpful, but I would like to see a somewhat more theoretical approach to selecting the cases to be compared. We clearly do not want to do comparison for the sake of comparison, but comparing materials with an eye to testing theoretical propositions could yield valuable information. I would suggest, as an example, that a careful historical investigation of comparative mobility rates of Asian and Chicano populations in California would tell us a great deal more that we want to know than a similar comparison of Blacks and Chicanos in California. I feel it would help if we were to study seriously the research strategies used by the classic comparative scholars such as Max Weber and Emil Durkheim, both of whom were very methodologically self-conscious.

Up to this point, both the community/labor and the political economy area studies traditions have focused on what an earlier generation of historical materialists would have called the "base," that is to say, economic, technological, and demographic patterns. I detect a trend now, however, toward greater emphasis on the more "superstructural" elements such as

social institutions and cultural patterns. The challenge is to integrate these different dimensions of community life rather than to study them in isolation. Doing this will require more attention being paid to social theory than has so far been in evidence. Both historians and social scientists will have to go beyond Stephen Thernstrom, Robert Blauner, and Barrington Moore to take on Max Weber, Karl Mannheim, Stanley Aronowitz, Antonio Gramsci, C. Wright Mills, Alvin Gouldner, Marvin Harris, Richard Schermerhorn, and others. Clearly, this will take time, as well as blood, sweat, toil and tears, but such is the cost of avoiding stagnation.

Assessment of the Traditions

Over the years some of the research traditions described above have become stronger and others have become weaker. The utilitarian tradition is not as common as it once was, although it can still be found in government reports. Generally this type of applied research is not considered truly academic, although such reports do provide data that can be incorporated into more academic studies. The assimilationist tradition is also less common now that many of the assumptions on which it is founded have been challenged by ethnic and racial groups emphasizing pride in their distinctive heritages. However, assimilationist presuppositions can still be found in many studies which are not overtly assimilationist. This is especially true of reformist studies, such as the work of Fred Romero cited above.

Purely academic studies continue to appear, although for the most part they are relatively innocuous and attract little attention. The structural subordination tradition also continues, but it is generally ignored in mainstream academic journals because its conclusions are perceived as being too radical. To a certain extent, this tradition has been supplanted by the "historic goals" traditions that many younger Chicano scholars have taken up.

Overall the reformist tradition continues to be the most common. It has the advantage of appearing progressive while still being acceptable to the major scholarly journals and associations, as well as the large foundations. While many government funded studies done by academics are clothed in reformist terminology, it might well be asked whether they are actually utilitarian in their effect. To answer this question, we would have to follow up and see what the funding agencies actually do with the data provided by the studies. To my knowledge, this is rarely done by academics, who consider that they have discharged their responsibilities when the reports have been submitted.

The three traditions which form the "historic goals" group are currently the most dynamic. The major question with respect to these traditions is whether they can maintain their dynamism and momentum in the future. One possibility is that the young scholars in each may settle into comfortable academic niches, staking out pieces of turf and cultivating them in great detail rather than continuing to seek out new approaches and perspectives. In the absence of a strong Chicano movement, with its egalitarian and communitarian values, there may also be a tendency for these traditions to move in a reformist direction. Given the limitations of reformism which are outlined in the concluding section of this paper, this would be an unfortunate development.

So far the "historic goals" traditions lack a strong theoretical orientation. Studies in the community/labor and labor history traditions are typically thematic in nature, although there is reference to theory made in some of them. It is somewhat more surprising to note that the same is true of the political economy area studies tradition, given that most of the authors in this tradition have been trained in the social sciences. In my opinion, it would be a major advance for all three of these traditions to move in a more self-consciously theoretical direction, and there are some signs that this is beginning to take place.

Theory and the Chicano Worker

Theory refers to an explanatory scheme in which there is at least one clearly identified variable which one is trying to explain (the dependent variable) and one or more factors which are used to explain the variation in the dependent variable (independent and intervening variables). In addition, it is necessary to define one's terms clearly and to make use of variables which can be operationalized, or made concrete.

Looked at in this way, there is very little writing on the Chicano worker which is explicitly theoretical, although it can be argued that there is more implicit theory. Most studies tend to be either descriptive, thematic, or policy oriented.

Taking into account both explicit and implicit theory, it is obvious that the most important factor which researchers on the Chicano worker have tried to explain is economic inequality and its persistence over time. Some writers have treated this in terms of racial prejudice, often on the part of the employer (Landoldt; Kibbe). Many more have focused on the *interests* of employers and their allies in the state (Taylor; Moreno;

Camarillo; Barrera; Miller and Mariel; Simmons; Park; Reisler; Almaguer; Zeleny; Garcia; Jimenez; Montejano; Trujillo). Some have referred to employer discrimination in general (Poston and Alvarez; Schmidt; Briggs; Briggs, Fogel and Schmidt). Others have mentioned discrimination by unions. (Landoldt; Romero; Briggs, Fogel and Schmidt)

A great deal of research has also attempted to explain inequality in terms of the characteristics of Chicano workers, whether these be education, language and culture, regional concentration in low wage areas, types of occupations, family size, family type (nuclear vs extended), age distribution, nativity, gender, or job search strategies. (Poston and Alvarez; Briggs, Fogel and Schmidt; Fogel; Briggs; Grebler, Moore and Guzman; Romero; Taylor; Tienda; D'Antonio and Samora; Griswold del Castillo)

A related theoretical question has to do with factors reducing economic inequality over time. This has been addressed in terms of war-time labor shortages, anti-discrimination legislation, labor struggles, higher educational attainment, greater assimilation, unionization, and urbanization. (Landoldt; Kibbe; Brookshire; Schmidt; Gomez-Quinones; Romo; D'Antonio and Samora; Grebler, Moore and Guzman)

Another related theoretical focus has had to do with factors affecting comparative mobility rates, in which Chicanos are compared with other ethnic or racial groups. Among the factors considered here are family background, gender, and generational data. (Tienda; Barr; Penalosa and McDonagh; Romo; Grebler, Moore and Guzman)

A different theoretical question that has received some attention in this literature has been that of factors determining the formation and location of barrios, and the degree of residential segregation. This has been addressed particularly by the community/labor tradition. (Romo; Camarillo; Griswold del Castillo; Garcia)

One writer has conceptualized his focus as being the emergence of ethnic consciousness among Chicanos, as opposed to class or religious consciousness. (Griswold del Castillo)

While the labor history tradition has primarily concentrated on documenting the nature and extent of Chicano participation in organizational activity and union struggles, it can be argued that one implicit theoretical question here has been that of the factors accounting for the difficulty of organizing agricultural workers. Much of Galarza's writing bears on this question, and Nelson-Cisneros has made explicit reference to it. (Nelson-Cisneros, 1975)

Public Policy, Reformism and the Chicano Worker

While a number of works have addressed themselves to recommending policies, generally from the reformist tradition, there have been surprisingly few specific policies that have been suggested. Altogether, they number no more than six.

One policy recommendation has been for more and better educational programs, including technical manpower training and special programs such as migrant education. (Jones; Kibbe; Briggs; Schmidt)

Two writers have called for more technical assistance programs that would address such needs as employment counseling, improved employer testing and screening procedures, and better statistics on the Chicano work force. (Romero; Schmidt)

One of the most popular recommendations has been for tightening up on the immigration of labor from Mexico, which competes to some extent with Chicano labor. (Jones; Kibbe; Briggs; Briggs, Fogel and Schmidt) In this connection, it is worth noting that most Chicano organizations now emphasize better treatment for undocumented immigrant workers rather than greater restrictions.

A related policy proposal has been greater economic aid to Mexico, with the intention of stimulating Mexican development and thus reducing the pressures to immigrate. (Jones; Briggs)

One writer has emphasized extending the same social legislation coverage to agricultural workers that is in effect for industrial workers. (Briggs)

Finally, some writers have called for more effective enforcement of anti-discrimination legislation. (Schmidt; Briggs, Fogel and Schmidt)

There are some obvious limitations on the kinds of policy recommendations that have been made up to this point. No one in any of these traditions has suggested putting an emphasis on helping workers to form cooperatives or otherwise taking over control and ownership of the enterprises in which they are engaged. No one has put an emphasis on technical assistance to workers in order to help them organize more effective unions. No one has suggested programs aimed at working directly on employer attitudes. The recommendations that have been made, for the most part, are remarkable chiefly for their timidity and lack of imagination.

A second type of criticism that could be made of this policy direction is that all of the recommendations are aimed at reducing the amount of

inequality between Chicano and Anglo workers. While this is a worthwhile goal, there is no consideration given to the second of the "historic goals" that Chicano organizations have traditionally pursued, that of community. From this one can deduce an underlying assimilationist assumption, namely that distinctive Chicano communities and a distinctive Chicano identity are temporary and transitional phenomena.

While these two limitations are correctable, there is another which is more serious in that it is inherent in the whole reformist policy approach. In all reformist studies the structure of society is taken as given. The underlying assumption here is that the existing structure of society is equitable and just, and that only marginal changes need to be made in order to deliver its benefits to the Chicano worker. The only changes proposed are those which are seen as acceptable to policy-making bodies.

Let us perform a mental experiment and suppose that these reform proposals were successfully implemented and that Chicano workers were now on an equal footing with all other workers. They would still belong to a social structure in which employers are constantly finding ways of resisting unionization and chipping away at worker benefits; a social structure which is polluting the water and atmosphere at an alarming rate, and producing radioactive wastes that will be hazardous for thousands of years; a social structure that threatens to create a nuclear holocaust sooner or later; a social structure that supports right-wing dictatorships around the world who oppress their own people to defend privilege; a social structure characterized by alienation, narrow self-interest, widespread political corruption, soaring crime rates, persistent unemployment, and an endless list of other social ills. These are all conditions of which we are inescapably aware. Yet when academics draw up their policy proposals they magically cease to exist. I propose that such exercises in self-delusion have lost whatever purpose they may once have had. It is time to publicly acknowledge what we know.

From the preceding discussion, it should be clear that the policy proposals that have been advanced in the past have aimed at minor changes which are seen as ends in themselves. Given the current reactionary political trends in the United States, even mildly progressive new policy initiatives have no chance of being enacted into law. The liberal posture at this point is strictly defensive, trying to prevent the repeal of previously enacted progressive legislation and limiting cutbacks as much as possible. Since the conditions simply do not exist for implementation, it makes much more

sense to speak of *politics* rather than *policy*. How can we as concerned researchers and writers contribute to the creation of new political movements and alignments in this country which can start to deal in a realistic manner with the tremendous and escalating social problems that this system faces?

If reform proposals are to play a role in such a process, they must be conceptualized in a very different manner than they have been in the past. The only type of reform proposal that makes sense under current conditions is what the French writer Andre Gorz has termed *nonreformist reforms* (Gorz, 1973). Nonreformist reforms are reforms which do not see the suggested changes as ends in themselves, but as *means* to more fundamental structural changes in the society. Advanced as part of a political campaign, they serve as rallying points for mobilizing constituencies and for creating changes in consciousness by helping people conceive of truly alternative ways of doing things. At a point where the political movement gains sufficient strength to implement the reforms, they serve to reduce the strength of one's opponents and to increase one's own. They can also serve as successful examples of how society can be organized on the basis of a different set of principles.

The reforms which have been advocated in the literature on Chicano workers do not fall into this category. Establishing a migrant education program along traditional lines, for example, while of immediate benefit to its participants, does nothing to change power relationships or social structure. A proposal for worker self-management of the workplace, however, has the effect of changing the entire way one thinks of work relationships. If implemented, it improves the strength of the workers in the society while weakening that of employers, and thus provides a broader base for further change. It also serves as a model of human relationships based on cooperation and self-determination rather than competition and external control. Similarly, a proposal for urban renewal is a strictly limited reform, if that. A proposal for urban decentralization and community control of barrio areas, on the other hand, can be a nonreformist reform opening up whole new areas of thought about desirable ways of structuring our cities. Given the nature of the times, boldness in thought can no longer be considered a luxury or an aberration—it is a precondition for the creation of a just and egalitarian society, and possibly for survival.

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Research On Chicano Workers: A Legal Perspective

Carmen A. Estrada

Employment discrimination on the basis of national origin was specifically prohibited by Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. While legal remedies for employment discrimination existed prior to 1964, the formulation of a specific federal statute prohibiting discrimination by employers (of 15 or more persons) led to the emergence and formulation of what we now refer to as employment discrimination litigation.¹

The question of employment is one of the most critical facing Chicanos. Clearly, Chicanos will gain social and political influence only when they are fully integrated into the American economic system. Chicanos must be allowed to participate in every facet of American society. In our efforts to become part of the fabric of American life, we must end discrimination that affects our communities and contributes to the inordinately high unemployment rate among Hispanics. For this reason, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) has,

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for over 13 years, focused on employment as one of the four major programmatic areas of importance to Hispanics.²

MALDEF's Employment Program consists of litigating high impact national origin employment discrimination cases, monitoring and commenting on national legislative initiatives in the employment area and advocating for Hispanics with national policymakers on issues of concern to Hispanics.

Litigation Targets

Briefly stated, MALDEF's litigation is targeted to specific issues of concern to Hispanics generally and targeted to regions in which there is a high Hispanic population.³

Issues and areas of particular concern to our employment program are:

1. national origin issues (i.e., language issues, such as discrimination on the basis of foreign accent, where not job-related or necessary to job performance, denial of employment on basis of language to a monolingual Spanish speaker or a person who has difficulty in English where not job-related or necessary to employment, application of a "English-only rule" on the basis of an inadvertent or instinctual slip of the tongue, or beyond the work place or work hours, and any case where the factual circumstances demonstrate that the language rule is

¹Title VII is only one of many laws that protect Hispanic men and women from discrimination on the basis of national origin. These comments will focus primarily on Title VII, which makes it illegal for employers to discriminate with respect to any condition of employment or against any applicant for employment, because of race, color, sex, religion or national origin. This law requires that all persons be treated the same in matters of hiring practices, pensions, retirement plans, vacation time and insurance. Other laws protect Hispanics against discrimination, including the Equal Pay Act (29 U.S.C. § 206(d) (1)) Executive Order 11246 (non-discrimination by federal contractors), the Federal Age Discrimination Act (29 U.S.C. § 621) and other state and federal employment laws. These comments will focus primarily on Title VII as an employment discrimination remedy unless otherwise stated.

²MALDEF's overall activities focus on education, employment, voting rights and immigration.

³The issue and geographical targeting discussed are flexible and not meant to be hard and fast rules limiting our participation in an important employment issue falling outside of these areas.

evidence of individual intent; also height and citizenship requirements).

2. reverse discrimination/affirmative action cases.
3. private employers (entry-level jobs, large employers, high Hispanic labor force).
4. public employers (entry-level federal positions, expanding state programs; layoff issues at local/county level).
5. minority contractors and Hispanic businesses/economic development.
6. job training programs (vocational education, job corps, CETA).

Litigation in the above target areas is loosely targeted to regions with a high Hispanic employment force. The following locations have been identified by the 1970 Census as areas with high numbers of Hispanics employed:⁴

<i>Location</i>	<i>Total Number of Mexican Origin Employed</i>
1. Los Angeles, CA	268,174
2. San Antonio, TX	85,362
3. San Francisco/San Jose, CA	67,716
4. Rio Grande Valley Cities, TX	58,141
5. Chicago, IL	53,369
6. El Paso, TX	50,752
7. Houston, TX	45,412
8. San Bernardino/Riverside, CA	39,894
9. Phoenix, AZ	29,495
10. Corpus Christi, TX	28,110
11. San Diego, CA	27,542
12. Albuquerque, NM	26,581
13. Dallas, TX	20,871
14. Fresno, CA	19,337
15. Tucson, AZ	17,203
16. Denver, CO	13,221

⁴Areas ranking 1-13 are SMSA's with 50,000 or more persons of Spanish origin; areas ranking 14-16 are SMSA's with 10,000 or more Spanish origin workers; 1970 Census. The 1980 Census figures are not available as of this writing.

The above discussion regarding litigation targeting is for the purpose of clarifying the goals of our Employment Litigation Program. Our main emphasis is to litigate employment discrimination class action cases or cases which raise an important policy or legal question affecting Hispanics. As civil rights attorneys⁵ we are knowledgeable of the law and frequently take a lead on issues from our constituency, Hispanic groups and individuals, as well as researchers and policymakers. The questions posed to me as the subject of these comments are not easily answered and merit a broader discussion of employment discrimination role of research vis-a-vis employment litigation.⁵

The areas that MALDEF, a legal advocacy organization, has focused on as important may assist researchers in their internal discussions on research in the employment/labor area. A dialogue among researchers, policymakers and attorneys must occur to develop the common areas of expertise we share and improve our methods for obtaining the larger goal we seek. Civil rights litigation is only a means to an end—whether that end be a more just society or the existence of an employer that does not discriminate. Our individual disciplines can be used to improve that process. What follows is a general discussion of several employment issues that we have identified as important to Hispanics and are capable of legal redress.

Employment Issues: Legal Overview

Affirmative Action. There is a growing sense of opposition to affirmative action, fueled by a lack of understanding of what affirmative action is and why affirmative measures are necessary to integrate our national work force. As the economy worsens and Americans fear for more of their own economic survival, all sorts of epithets are aimed at programs providing access to minorities. Legislative, regulatory and constitutional proposals opposing affirmative action have emerged to threaten the future access of minorities into our institutions, which even today—18 years after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was enacted—remain the bastion of white America.

⁵Questions posed are: 1) What issues, concerns and legal principles in order to fully address the important areas will become—or should become—the focal point of research in the area? 2) What are the prospects for interdisciplinary research in this topic? 3) How can basic social research affect informed public policy formulation?

Senator Orrin Hatch of Utah, for example, proposed introduction of a Constitutional Amendment banning affirmative action. Says Hatch, "If the government officials and politicians who presided over its genesis had injected heroin into the bloodstream of our nation, they could not have done more potential damage to our children and our children's children."

Clearly, Senator Hatch's and others' proposals, which will in effect eliminate or hobble affirmative action, are not the result of our national discrimination problem having been resolved but, rather, they have come about because we are entering an era of diminished resources, high unemployment, and increased competition for employment and education.

Affirmative action is not a series of requirements which are arbitrarily imposed upon employers and educational institutions without regard to their past history vis-a-vis minorities and women. Rather, it is fundamentally a remedy to redress the continuing effects of past discrimination—a temporary measure to compensate the past evils—that employers who have a balanced and representative work force need not engage in. Further, the need for affirmative action is triggered by the *presence* of discrimination or its ongoing effect.

Federal support of affirmative action is wavering in the face of the onslaught of employers who do not understand its advantages. Just as threatening is government and private industry's physical retrenchment resulting in a severe decrease in the nation's employed work force. The effects will be devastating for minorities recently hired under affirmative action programs.

Hispanic Employment in the U.S. Unemployment in the U.S. is severe. For Hispanics the situation is much worse. In 1980, Hispanic unemployment exceeded 10%. It stands at a level almost 1 1/2 times greater than the unemployment rate for the total U.S. population. For the large part, Hispanics remain overrepresented in blue-collar, unskilled lower-paying jobs and underemployed in white-collar, professional occupations.

In the public sector, the situation is the same. Preliminary results of a survey of Hispanic employment in major federal agencies, conducted by MALDEF in 1980, reveals severe underrepresentation of Hispanics in the federal work force; fewer gains in federal employment; employment in low, non-professional jobs and far less upward mobility for Hispanic federal employees than non-minorities. A conclusion of the survey is, "the sharp disparity between the number of Hispanics in the national work force and

those working in federal agencies suggests that Hispanic underrepresentation is not just a statistical phenomenon or a question of lack of qualified candidates but rather a matter of systemic discrimination."

Non-federal public employment of Hispanics has not improved either. For instance, the post-Proposition 13 cutbacks in California continue to result in a reduction of the number of public employees. Like the federal government, many cities, states and other local government units have instituted their own tax-cutting measures, decreasing the number of employees in their work forces. As a result of these measures, many employee terminations based on the seniority system have occurred in the last few years. These layoffs are epitomized by the phrase, "last hired, first fired." Because Hispanics have only recently made gains in equal employment opportunities, illustrated by an increase in Hispanics hired, they are worst hit by the public sector work force reductions. In addition, the budget reductions and regulatory changes of federal government monitoring agencies, such as the Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs, will lessen the pressure put on private companies who contract with the government to actively recruit and hire minorities.

Recent Employment Discrimination Law. Recent decisions in two cases, *Burdine v. Texas Department of Community Affairs* (March, 1981) and *United Steel Workers of America v. Weber* (June, 1979) will have a tremendous impact on private sector employment of Chicanos. In *Burdine*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in effect that Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act does not require employers to hire a minority or female applicant whenever that person's qualifications are only equal to those of a white male applicant. (*Burdine* requires Title VII individual plaintiffs to prove that they were better qualified than the successful applicant.)

Burdine represents an erosion of the Title VII law for individual complainants. In the past, it was at least arguable that there was discrimination if the successful white male applicant was as qualified as the minority applicant. The practical effect of this case will be to eliminate many Title VII challenges where a minority applicant cannot sustain a finding that he or she was more qualified than the applicant who was hired. Though the *Burdine* case does not directly effect MALDEF's Employment Program because our emphasis is on class action cases, it does impact on those employed Chicanos seeking to bring an individual discrimination case.

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in the case of *United Steel Workers of America v. Weber*, on the other hand, held that a private employer could

engage in voluntary affirmative action training programs without a finding of prior discrimination. This decision is of paramount legal importance since the opposition had argued that affirmative action programs engaging in hiring quotas should only be utilized where there is a finding of discrimination by a court tribunal. Such a finding would have been devastating to any employer seeking to engage in voluntary affirmative action. *Weber*, however, opens the door to private, voluntary use of race-conscious programs.⁶

Employment Discrimination Litigation

Generally, our Employment Program's efforts have focused on the issues discussed through legislative comments, as participants on advisory committees, and through litigation. The employment discrimination cases in the target areas listed previously have focused on the areas of language discrimination, testing and employment selection criteria used for entry level jobs and apprenticeship programs, and job protections, in particular the retention of bilingual employees in government work forces.

Language Discrimination. It is extremely important to note that language discrimination can be tantamount to national origin discrimination. The recent Fifth Circuit decision *Garcia v. Gloor* has confused the issue and left many employers uncertain as to their obligations regarding language minorities. MALDEF has received increasing complaints from individuals claiming that employers are announcing and enforcing "English-only" rules irrespective of the rules' job-relatedness.

In *Garcia v. Gloor*, the plaintiff, Hector Garcia, was dismissed from his job for speaking Spanish on the job in violation of his employer's "English-only" rule. The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals held that the discharge was

⁶Despite the Supreme Court's position in *Weber* regarding voluntary affirmative action programs, the current Administration—through Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds—announced in December, 1981 that the *Weber* case was wrongfully decided and that the Department of Justice intended to locate and litigate a case which would result in a reversal of that decision. This raises grave doubts about the continued viability and legality of private affirmative action programs. The same broad use of race-conscious programs which *Weber* upheld in the private employment context has not been extended to institutions of higher education as can be seen by the Supreme Court's decision in the *Bakke* case where the majority of justices concluded that, absent of findings of prior discrimination, race could only be used as *one factor* among many in the overall admissions process.

not a violation of Title VII, but added that "in some instances the ability to speak or the speaking of a language other than English might be equated with national origin (discrimination). . ."

Though the record of the case contained considerable testimony on the effects of such language policy on the employment opportunities in highly concentrated areas of Texas and the cultural importance of language to Mexican Americans in their employment, the United States Supreme Court refused to review the case upholding the Court of Appeals' decision that . . . Mexican American's dismissal was not a violation of Title VII. The media interpreted this decision to mean that "English-only" rules are allowed to exist when the decision applied to this individual case.

The Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals' opinion equating language discrimination in some instances with national origin discrimination is an important legal principle that will be developed in future language discrimination cases.

Testing and Employment Selection Criteria. Through litigation we have challenged written tests and other selection criteria, such as citizenship requirements that limit or impede Hispanics' access to entry-level jobs, promotion opportunities, and apprenticeship programs. Employment discrimination law provides that if a particular test has an adverse impact on a protected group of persons who failed the test in disproportionately high numbers, then that test must be "validated" and shown to be "job-related". Therefore, a test that does not have an adverse impact on a particular group (e.g., Chicanos) does not have to be validated or shown to be job-related; conversely, a test that is validated and shown to be job-related may have an adverse impact on a protected group.

Non-validated written tests traditionally have impeded Hispanics' access to a number of jobs and careers. The Professional and Administrative Career Examination (PACE) used to identify qualified individuals for employment in over 100 entry-level jobs in the federal government, for example, was eliminated in a recent lawsuit which charged that the test's adverse impact on Hispanics and minorities was so severe that it threatened to segregate the middle and upper levels of the Executive Branch. Also eliminated in a separate suit because of its adverse effect on minorities was an unlawful written examination required by the EEOC and Civil Service Commission for employment at the GS 5-6 level as a secretary or stenographer.

Job Protection. In California, Proposition 13 sensitized us to the fact that we are entering an era of shrinking governmental expenditures. In other cities and states similar tax-cutting methods have been approved and implemented. Proposals to cut the federal work force have already been acted upon. A hiring freeze and reduction in the present federal government work force can have devastating effects on those Hispanics recently hired under affirmative action programs. Increased legal resources must focus on this issue and protect the limited gains made over the past few years that are now threatened by government retrenchment.

Employment discrimination law allows layoffs according to strict seniority, if those layoffs are done in accordance with a bona fide seniority plan, even if minorities and women are adversely affected by the layoffs. A legal alternative to challenging seniority-based layoffs by representing affected employees under Title VII is to represent community groups and/or individuals using Title VI⁷ and argue that the layoff impact on the employer's ability to serve minority populations. Hispanic recipients of public services frequently need specialized assistance, such as bilingual personnel, and will not be able to receive those services if personnel with those special skills are terminated in a seniority-based layoff. Since affirmative action has only been truly effective for Hispanics in the last decade or so they frequently have less seniority and are usually the only ones capable of providing bilingual services needed by limited English-speaking or monolingual Spanish-speaking persons. The elimination of bilingual employees through layoffs in effect denies social services and other benefits to our limited or non-English-speaking population. A successful Title VI challenge to the reduction in services utilizing federal regulations requiring bilingual services may maintain the bilingual services and indirectly benefit the bilingual staff who would otherwise be terminated.⁸

⁷Title VI prohibits federally funded agencies from discriminating in the provision of services. The beneficiaries of Title VI's protection are not the agency employees providing the service but, rather, the recipients of those services. The application of this statute is limited to federally-funded agencies (including schools, contract agencies, etc.) and does not apply to privately funded employers.

⁸Title VI challenges are becoming increasingly more difficult to prevail in as the legal standard of liability requires a showing of intentional discrimination in many jurisdictions. In a layoff situation, for example, the Court will require that plaintiffs not only show that the employee layoffs will have a discriminatory impact on the service delivery (by denying services to a disproportionate number of Spanish-speaking persons) but also show that the layoffs were intended to result in reduced services to this population.

We have initiated lawsuits in this area which are currently in litigation and have resulted in continued services to the monolingual population and an increased awareness of this important issue.

Discussion

There are numerous issues that could be added to the above discussion. For example, more needs to be known on the existence and impact of wage segregation on Hispanics. The wage segregation or "comparable worth" studies have generally focused on women in sex-segregated occupations. The few historical and contemporary studies on this issue have identified geographical employment segregation and corresponding wage disparities affecting Hispanics (e.g., a mine worker labor force in the Southwest that is primarily Hispanic has been shown to earn less than a primarily Anglo mine workers labor force in the Midwest). In addition to research in this area to assist litigators and policymakers in developing legal remedies for the problem, my earlier discussion of employment issues leads me to make the following recommendations on areas for potential research:

1. an analysis of our labor force gains after the passage of Title VII in 1964 to determine whether equal employment opportunities and affirmative action has benefitted Hispanics
2. further research on the impact of language facility on socio-economic status; analysis of geographical concentration of our monolingual population
3. research on the question of whether language is an incident of national origin
4. research on the impact of Mexican immigrants on the labor force
5. research on the role of education and employment skills training programs in the Hispanic community (model federal training programs; success of community colleges to provide skills training to Hispanics)
6. research on successful minority employment training programs (managerial or on-the-job skills enhancement training)

The above research may assist civil rights attorneys and policy-makers in the following ways:

1. development of federal skills training programs
2. development of public/private employment training programs
3. target educational institutions or testing devices that discriminate against Hispanics; suggest legislative remedies for demonstrated problems
4. provide data supporting the continued need for and success of affirmative action programs and laws
5. assist in developing programs to improve the labor force status of monolingual Spanish-speakers
6. provide data for policy and/or litigation in the area of immigrant labor participation
7. assist in determining service needs and geographical concentration of monolingual Spanish-speakers

The National Commission for Employment Policy in Washington, D.C. has announced that their 1981-82 agenda will focus on the labor market problems of Hispanics in the United States as a major item. The central question of the Commission's project is how to reduce unemployment and improve the earnings of the Hispanic population. They have determined that this question requires information on

1. *the nature and dimensions of the Hispanic labor market problems* (economic and demographic positions of Hispanics in the U.S.; comparisons between groups (Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, others); investigate the demographic composition of groups; migration history)
2. *the source of those problems* (examine the employment earnings position of Hispanic men and women; compare to Anglo and Blacks; analyze geographic distribution of Hispanics with others and impact of Hispanic concentration in local labor market on employment/earnings position)
3. *the effectiveness of federal policies and programs in alleviating them* (examination of bilingual and bilingual-bicultural education, remedial counseling, ESL; critical

review of the effectiveness of these programs; analyze quantity and quality of CETA programs)

The Commission's agenda is ongoing and will be a significant effort in labor market research and legislation development. However, it is a one-year project and will not be able to fully address the needs of Hispanics a task remaining for all of us to continue in the years ahead.

Symposium Papers

The papers prepared by Tomás Almaguer and Ailert Camarillo and Walter Fogel were excellent reviews of existing research on the Chicano worker. From an attorney's perspective, historical research is useful in showing a pattern and practice of discrimination against Chicanos and contemporary research supports the contention that discrimination is (or is not) currently in existence.

It was interesting to note Fogel's statement that "there are historic studies of socio-political environments which have affected Chicano workers. These studies provide useful factual knowledge about the treatment of the Chicano worker...however they add little to our understanding of his current experience." (Fogel, pp. 12-13) This comment merits discussion—at least among researchers. I have personally found that extremely focused research of a historical nature is interesting but may not be of assistance to me in litigation or in preparing legislative comments unless the research is specifically on-point.

The Fogel paper presented a good overview on the state of research on the Chicano worker. He points out that most research focuses on how worker characteristics influence Chicano job earnings rather than connecting worker behavior and employer practices to individual earnings. The latter subject is of interest in employment litigation. Those employer practices we have found to greatly impact Chicanos are written tests, oral interview-panels and high entry-level qualifications (e.g., educational degree, relevant work experience). Research on employer practices and Chicano incomes would be of assistance in litigating employment discrimination cases.

The fact that foreign language and birth (and possibly location or residence) has a large negative effect on Chicanos' earnings must be addressed by policymakers. From a policy viewpoint the question is whether to legislate against discrimination on these bases or to develop social policy to change those conditions (naturalization projects, ESL programs, encourage geographical relocation).

The Fogel paper also points out that there are few studies on how intermediary institutions (e.g., CETA) affect job outcomes for Chicano workers. As stated previously, this is an important area for research and will be of great assistance in developing skills training program legislation. "Manpower" programs began in 1964 and have been a part of our society since then in one form or another. The present Administration has not completely abolished federal training programs but has reduced their size and mandated a focus on youth training, the private sector and limited training of the "hard-core unemployed". This issue remains a viable one for future research.

The Almaguer/Camarillo paper presents an important historical review of Chicano workers which concludes that large gaps in knowledge remain and future research is needed in this developing field. I shall comment briefly on the four major sub-topical areas and the public policy questions raised from this review of research.

"The development of the Chicano working class in the nineteenth-century" presents useful information to historians but, because of the lack of exhaustive research in this area, more must be known before the importance of this research can be fully understood and utilized. I agree with the authors' assessment that these pioneer research efforts "raised more questions than they answered" (page 2). These historical studies which paint a clear picture of unequal employment opportunities for Mexicans through the turn of the century, lend much support to the development of antidiscrimination laws in this century. The existence of historical research on the Black labor force has done much to bolster Blacks' arguments for civil rights in the employment sector. It is encouraging to see Chicano labor force research be similarly developed.

The sub-topical area on "Chicanos in the early twentieth-century occupational structure" demonstrates that the discrimination against Chicanos continued through 1940. The importance of Chicano scholarship in this area cannot be underestimated as the authors point out.⁹

Moreover, research free of assimilationist terms and cognizant of alternate theoretical models adds richness to the body of research which has been heretofore nonexistent.

⁹Fogel's discussion on the use of theoretical perspectives and their impact on policy should be mentioned. Both the human capital theory and the exploitation theory are too simplistic to adequately explain the current experience of the Chicano worker. Similarly, the racist prose of early researchers does not assist us in fully understanding the Chicano experience.

Almaguer/Camarillo point out the importance of research going beyond measuring movement of individuals within various occupational groupings to include addressing questions concerning changes in the class position of Mexicans in the larger class structure. The authors also point out the use of the notion of "racial dualism" as a useful analytical tool and suggest its further development. This analysis, if adopted by future researchers, will be useful in producing data that is beneficial to policymakers.

Finally, the "Chicano labor organizing and militance" research review was interesting and the further development of research in this area will rectify inaccurate original or ignored chapters in Chicano history and may assist in future policymaking. "Chicanas in the labor market" point out the dire need for more research in this largely ignored area. Chicanas have participated in the labor market in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but have not been the focal point of research studies. Research on Anglo and Black women has given a positive perspective on their contributions to the development of our society. The same should be done to correct the currently held image of Chicanas in the labor force.

Conclusion

The Chicano labor force will receive increased attention in the years ahead. Interdisciplinary research can provide many answers to the problems facing our community. Improved data on Chicanos will be a valuable tool for legislators and litigators seeking to improve the Chicano's current labor market conditions. Continued dialogue among scholars and policymakers will result in improved methods for our mutual goal of changing social conditions to benefit the Chicano community.

PART II

Foundations of Research on the Chicano Family

Empirical and Theoretical Developments in the Study of Chicano Families

Lea Ybarra

The institution of the family is an important and basic element of cultures throughout the world. It generally maintains great power in the socialization of its individual members, but it does so within the context and interaction of various institutions in the larger society. Chicano families are not exempt from this process and are also affected by the larger society. As such, they must be seen as an institution subject to many societal processes, including the work situation, educational institutions, and the socio-economic structure of a community. Thus, any comprehensive study of Chicano families should encompass an analysis based on many factors—economic, social, educational, and cultural—and the effect these factors have on family structure.

Unfortunately, when studying Chicano families, early social science literature did not take factors such as these into account. Chicano families were depicted as static, one-dimensional, and homogeneous entities. As a result, a distorted view of Chicano familial processes was established. Thus,

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during this first stage of writings on Chicano families, negative stereotypes of the family abounded and the empirical data necessary to refute these stereotypes was minimal.

The question of looking at Chicano families, as a complex social structure necessitating systematic and empirical study, is a relatively recent trend and represents the latest phase of research on the Chicano family. Commencing from a point in which the majority of literature on the family was non-empirical, stereotypical and negative, writings have developed to a stage where the family is being researched within many distinct theoretical frameworks utilizing a variety of empirical methodologies. The discussion of these phases, delineated into three stages of research development, will be the focus of this paper.

The Establishment and Perpetuation of a Myth: Social Science Literature on the Chicano Family

In the first phase of writings, which occurred primarily in the 1940s through the 1960s, the myth of a totally patriarchal, pathological, and unstable Chicano family unit was established in the literature on Chicano families. The Chicano family was viewed as forming a patriarchal structure characterized by the unquestioned and absolute supremacy of the husband and the self-sacrifice of the wife. (Humphrey, 1944; Madsen, 1964; Rubel, 1966; Penalosa, 1968). The male was characterized as overly dominant, violent, and obsessed with sexual fantasies while the woman was characterized as being at the other extreme. Mexican and Chicana women were considered to be submissive women who were not only forced into this type of situation but who also accepted and sometimes even liked their position. The Chicano family was also considered to place great emphasis upon children learning submission and strong obedience to the dictates of the father and other authority figures. (Madsen, 1964; Rubel, 1966; Penalosa, 1968; Aramoni, 1972; Stevens, 1973). The family was thus seen as pivoting around the strong domination of the male in the family. This idea, often conceptualized as "machismo", was too often accepted without any empirical verification and resulted in a distorted view of the family.

Adding to this distortion, was the perception of the Chicano family as a static entity, which changed only as the result of acculturation to Anglo American society. (Tharp, et al, 1968; Heller, 1968). Since very few systematic and empirical studies had been done on the Chicano family, social scientists merely relied on their own ethnocentric misconceptions of

machismo and other aspects of Chicano culture to create a distorted view of Chicano families. Many of these distortions were based on the overutilization of the concept of machismo as the sole explanatory agent for Chicano familial processes. The concept of "machismo" therefore merits close scrutiny, particularly since in the first phase, familial roles were defined exclusively by this concept.

The concept of *machismo*, as it was used in social science literature, was uncritically and loosely applied with no attempt to formulate either a theoretical or empirical verification of its prevalence in Chicano and Mexican culture. This led to distortions in both the definition and usage of *machismo*, and certainly in the conceptualization of Chicano familial roles. *Machismo* was considered to be a perverted form of masculinity. Aramoni (1972) states:

Some Mexicans have tried to mitigate problems that stem from male-female relationships by engaging in violent and absurd behavior and they continue to do so. This behavior pattern is called 'machismo' - from macho, male and is the expression of exaggerated masculine characteristics, ranging from male genital prowess to towering pride and fearlessness. It is also a specific counterphobic attitude toward women, and the anxieties of life and death. (69)

There were several factors which were consistently stressed in dealing with *machismo*, such as the macho's obsession with sex.

Because the fear of losing his potency is ever-present, the macho lives in a nightmare world. . . he is desperately unsure whether he can produce another hit. . . He worries constantly that other men may not believe his boasts. (Stevens, 1973:59)

Male virility is better proven by direct action. . . The Latin male does not take his sex life lightly. He regards the female sex as a desirable quantity that exists to be conquered, and he is the conqueror. He is proud of the seductions he chalks up and does not hesitate to point them out to his companions. Seduction is the best proof of manliness. (Madsen, 1964:22).

Along with his preoccupation with sex, the Mexican male was depicted as being cruel, insensitive, and condescending towards women. "The

machista treats the woman like a thing, tries to make her feel inferior, good-for-nothing, unless what she is doing is related to serving him the master, in bed or out..." (Aramoni, 1972:69).

This use of the term, *machismo*, established a negative view of the Chicano male and left us with the perception of the Chicana as submissive and subordinate—the perfect counterpart to the male:

Where he is strong, she is weak. Where he is aggressive, she is submissive. While he is condescending towards her, she is respectful towards him... The Latin wife is expected to show her husband absolute respect and obedience. For a wife to question her husband's intelligence is an unforgivable sin. She does not resent her subordinate role nor envy the independence of Anglo women. (Madsen, 1964:22)

Chicanas were also portrayed as being too morally weak to protect themselves from the sexual overtures of men:

While the male feels compelled to demonstrate his sexual power with as many women as possible, the Latin woman must guard her purity above all else. A respected woman has had sexual experiences only with her husband... Protecting the purity of a woman is no easy task in a community filled with males stalking their prey. Because women are regarded as weak, suggestible, and less intelligent than males, the purity of a female must be defended first by her parents and then after marriage by her husband. (Madsen, 1964:22)

The literature of this stage portrayed the Chicana as one who neither questioned nor resented her subservient position. Thus, in the first stage, there was little progress toward a realistic portrayal of male/female roles within the family, and little effort was made to examine Chicano or Chicana roles outside the family structure.

In view of the stereotypical ways in which Chicano familial roles have been depicted, have views of Chicano parent-child relationships fared any better? Unfortunately, the view has oftentimes been that Chicano children are trapped in a pathological environment created by the family structure and their adherence to Mexican cultural attributes. (Madsen, 1964; Rubel, 1966; Samora and Lamanna, 1967; Heller, 1968). As Miguel Montiel (1971)

stated, Celia Heller, among other social scientists, used the "enemy within" notions of pathology to explain her belief in the lack of independence and achievement among Mexican American people:

The kind of socialization that Mexican American children generally receive at home is not conducive to the development of the capacities needed for advancement, by stressing values that hinder mobility—family ties, honor, masculinity, and living in the present—and by neglecting the values that are conducive to it. . . . (1971:62)

In addition to being in an environment which does not stress "positive" values, social science literature has viewed Chicano children as being further hampered in their moral and intellectual growth by an over-nurturing mother and an overbearing father. (Madsen, 1964; Rubel, 1966; Murrillo, 1971). Regarding the mothering process in Chicano families, Kiev (1968) states:

The narcissistic attitude of Mexican mothers toward their infants, coupled with their tendency to identify with their children as sibling rivals leads them to over-indulge and infantilize their children, which ultimately prevents successful differentiation of ego and id, and critically affects the child's psychosocial development. (1968:71)

Apparently Kiev is not aware of his own contradictions when, on the one hand, he states that Chicana mothers overindulge their infants and then states that "...ambivalence toward children is seen in the infrequent use made of child-care facilities despite the high incidence of child mortality, the frequent giving away of children, and often brutal treatment of children. . ." (Kiev, 1968:51). Despite the contradictions, the mother was generally viewed as being over-nurturing while the father was depicted as being too 'removed' from his children. Murrillo (1971), in citing some literature on the Chicano family, notes:

The husband and father is the autocratic head of the household. He tends to remain aloof and independent from the rest of the family (especially as the children enter puberty). There is a discontinuity of affective relationships between the father and the children. (1971:7)

Whether descriptions in the literature dealt with husband/wife or parent/child roles, *machismo* was seen as affecting all familial roles and thus molding the way men, women and children interacted within the Chicano family. The over-reliance on the use of *machismo* in this early stage of research not only created distortions but prevented a more complex analysis of Chicano familial roles.

To say that the utilization of *machismo* as a basis of study distorted the roles in the Chicano family is not to say that *machismo* does not exist. *Machismo*, if defined as male domination, does exist in Mexican and Chicano societies, but as in all societies, it exists in varying degrees in some family structures and not at all in others. A problem in the previous study of Chicano families, however, is that *machismo* has been seen as the basis for all familial relationships and has been utilized as a monocausal explanation for understanding family structure. For example, if familial structure was traditional and patriarchal, then it was considered to be only because of *machismo*; if it exhibited shared authority, then it was considered to be only because of acculturation into Anglo American society and thus movement away from *machismo*. (Tharp, et al, 1968; Madsen, 1964; Rubel, 1966). The family was studied in a vacuum without taking into account all the varied factors which continually influence it. Familial roles were never analyzed, theoretically or empirically, and a variety of factors such as socio-economic status, level of education, or area of residence were not taken into account. Social scientists rarely concerned themselves with analyzing other factors because they too readily accepted the idea of looking at the Chicano family as if it were on a continuum — with the Chicano family and its patriarchal, macho structure at the bottom and the Anglo family with its egalitarian structure at the top.

This idea was based on the following assumptions: (1) that benefits were accruing for the Chicano family when it acculturated or assimilated and thus obtained the ability to emulate the Anglo-American family model; (2) that with acculturation came an end to "instability" and related family problems, without realizing that the Anglo American family faces considerable problems itself; and, (3) that the Anglo family represents the most 'progressive' and egalitarian family model one should strive for, when in fact, the Anglo family is not as egalitarian as has been assumed and other family models may represent more progressive and fundamental changes. As a result of these assumptions, the model of acculturation became entrenched in social science literature as the only viable explanation

accounting for changes in Chicano familial structure. It had a history which encompassed more than a mere misunderstanding by social scientists of Chicano cultural patterns. There was an underlying or prevailing attitude towards Chicanos, and other ethnic cultures in general, which enabled social scientists to depict them negatively in the literature. (Lieberman, 1973; Staples, 1971). Social scientists were aided in perpetuating negative stereotypes and in furthering ethnocentric, value-laden attitudes by utilizing a model of acculturation which readily allowed them to make assumptions and conclusions of other cultures, based on their own societal norms and values.

The model of acculturation can be a useful research tool. When studying a phenomena, however, regardless of which model is employed, unless a people's interpretation of their own situation — of their own values, norms, and definitions — are taken into account, an accurate portrayal of that phenomena will be difficult to achieve. This was certainly the case during this first phase of study on the family. As a result, narrowly focused definitions of Chicano familial processes were instituted and alternative explanations to the acculturation model were not sufficiently explored. This, in turn, prevented a scholarly and accurate portrayal of family life.

Another aspect of this phase was that not only were stereotypes perpetuated in the writings of non-Chicanos, but there were Chicano authors as well whose writings basically corresponded with the prevalent social science literature on Chicano families at that time. The attitude and beliefs in the literature about Chicano families were assimilated into the writings of the Chicano authors themselves. There were authors such as Penalosa (1968) and Murillo (1971) who, while trying to present sensitive portrayals of the Chicano family in other aspects, nevertheless fell victim to the lack of empirical verification in their studies. This verification would have been necessary for a reanalysis of the prevailing social science attitudes regarding the Chicano family. As a result, these authors continued to rely on assumptions that all Chicano families were patriarchal, that Chicano males were *machos* in the negative sense of the term, and that Chicanas were passive. Basically, then, you had Chicano writers accepting the assumptions of non-Chicano writers. Thus, regardless of who did the analysis, an important trademark of this phase of research on Chicano families was the almost complete lack of empirical documentation which could be utilized to substantiate the writings on the Chicano family.

In discussing these stages, it should be kept in mind that they are not sharply delineated. The stages are not represented solely within a

distinct span of years. There were several types of writings occurring at all times. What the stages indicate is the dominant trends at any given time. Therefore, the majority of writings in the first stage occurred from 1940 to 1960, yet some also occurred during the 1960s and even to the present. The type of writings discussed in the second stage occurred primarily in the late 1960s and the 1970s.

Separating Myth From Reality: Reactive Literature

In the second stage of development in Chicano family research, there is an emergence of works by Chicano writers who react against the negative and stereotypical literature about Chicanos. This literature does not offer either new theoretical or methodological models, but it does react and criticize the existent literature. This type of reaction is best exemplified by the writings of Octavio Romano in the 1960s, a very important and critical figure in initiating this movement. While his writings were not on Chicano families specifically, they had a direct impact because his writings marked the beginning of a movement in which Chicanos defined themselves and analyzed issues from their own perspective. Octavio Romano (1968), ridiculed the portrayal of Chicanos in social science literature:

What are these Mexican Americans who have been created by social scientists?...These un-American social vegetables are produced by their own parents who follow their own traditional culture which, as it turns out, is the prime generator of all of the problems faced by these people. Taking her cue from her predecessors, quoting them profusely, Celia Heller zeroes in on the Mexican American family as the principal cause of all that foreign behavior among Mexican Americans, adding that this produces a population of people who are virtually all alike, resigned to their lot, basically lazy... (1968:24)

Romano stated it was obvious from the social science literature he surveyed that there had been no progress made in the views toward Mexican Americans in the last 100 years.

Miguel Montiel (1970) specifically attacked the stereotypic views of the Chicano family and addressed the concept of machismo.

"Terms like machismo are abstract, value-laden concepts that lack the empirical referents necessary for construction of sound explanations. Accordingly, as long as research on the Mexican and Mexican American family

is guided by anything other than sound operational definitions, its findings, conclusions and interpretations must be seen only as philosophical and ideological speculations—not as empirical truths.”

Alfredo Mirande (1977) also addressed the issue of *machismo* and stated that it has always been used to explain everything that is wrong with the Mexican family. Stereotypes such as *machismo* are so ingrained in social scientists, that when there is evidence which shows the Chicano family is not the way they have assumed, they tend to dismiss the information or see it as applicable only to families who have acculturated. Mirande concludes that the Chicano family should not be seen as a “tangle of pathology”, but as an institution that has worked very well. Temple-Trujillo (1974) also concluded that the strengths of the Chicano family had been ignored or misinterpreted and that certain qualities of the Chicano family could be utilized to enrich other family structures. However, the development of a framework by which to view the positive aspects of the Chicano family would require a reappraisal of the values embodied in the wider society:

With an appreciative framework, it should be unnecessary to ignore harsh economic and political realities, to introduce a romanticized image of the family or to locate the responsibility for the problems found among the Chicano population in the Chicano ‘psyche’. The realization of such an appreciative framework, which can more adequately capture the richness and vitality of the Chicano family, remains a challenge to future investigators. (1974:19)

During the second phase of research on Chicano families, the challenge addressed in Temple-Trujillo’s statement above began to be met. Writers did look at Chicano familial processes from a different perspective which encouraged a positive reanalysis of Chicano family life. However, it is during the third stage, which is represented by the most current writings on Chicano families, where the growth and diversity in the field of Chicano family research has most fully developed.

Constructing Reality: Utilization of New Theoretical Frameworks and Empirical Methodologies in the Study of Chicano Families

The third and current stage of Chicano family research is represented by writers which have gone beyond the reacting phase and are offering

new evidence—new theoretical and methodological models—which challenge the portrayal of Chicanos in previous social science literature. More significantly, it is marked by methodological models developed to provide empirical verification for new perspectives and for the analysis of a multitude of areas dealing with Chicanos and Chicano families. As a result of new empirical evidence, a total negation and redefinition of previously accepted assumptions begin to emerge. (Grebler, Moore and Guzman, 1970; Hawkes and Taylor, 1975; Alvarez and Bean, 1976; Johnson, 1976; Ybarra, 1977; Bean, Curtis and Marcum, 1977; Miller, 1978; Baca Zinn, 1980; Ramirez and Arce, 1980). An explanation of why, up until this time, empirical studies on various aspects of family life were lacking, is offered by Baca Zinn (1979):

Preoccupied with the "modern" family, sociologists have tended to interpret family forms in terms of cultural differences which would disappear with acculturation. The difference between Chicano families and the ideal modern family became, in effect, a culture lag. But careful examination of the research clearly indicates that it was not Chicano families that exhibited a lag; rather, it was the social scientists themselves whose approaches lagged behind those of other family researchers. (1979:64)

Baca Zinn notes that while ethnic families were being treated monolithically (as holdovers of traditional culture), in the broader area of family sociology many factors were being taken into account in order to better understand family organization. Marital power, division of labor and kinship orientation were found to be influenced not only by culture, but by structural factors such as class position, employment status and residence patterns. Yet these factors were not being utilized in the study of Chicano families.

Ramirez and Arce (1981) contend that while there is a very serious neglect of empirical work in psychological and socio-psychological research on Chicanos, few areas have been ignored as consistently as the Chicano family:

Current research on Chicano family life has originated primarily in response to the dearth of adequate empirical data. Prior to 1970, Chicano family literature was sparse and empirically deficient. It argued that the family was

old-fashioned, structurally rigid, male-dominated, unresponsive to the demands of contemporary industrial society and detrimental to individual mobility and coping ability. (1980:25)

There have been an increasing number of works which have responded to the "dearth" of empirical data and they have utilized a variety of traditional sociological methodologies.

The survey, in conjunction with the interview, has been used in the majority of current studies on the Chicano family. The first major study utilizing this method was Grebler, Moore, and Guzman (1970) who focused on family structure, including husband-wife roles in the Chicano family, and examined a variety of variables in analyzing these roles. Their study also represented the first major empirical work, in the third phase of research on Chicano families, which challenged previous stereotypes.

Grebler, et al. (1970) suggested that in terms of household task division, Mexican Americans are close to "typical Americans." They found that egalitarianism occurs more in the masculine sex-typed tasks than in the feminine, just as there is more loosening in the norms regarding the husband's role than in those regarding the role of the wife. There were no substantial differences in this resulting from income, area of residence, age or sex. They concluded:

The most striking finding relates not to internal variations in the departure from traditional sex specialization, but rather to the conspicuous presence of a basically *egalitarian* division of household tasks, with female specialization in a restricted domestic area. (1970:363)

Grebler, et al. concluded that while some Mexican American men were washing dishes, the majority still were not. Nevertheless, in the more important aspects of the husband-wife and father-child relationships, the Mexican American male is willing to admit that he has ceded control and that he has assumed some of the responsibilities that were traditionally "feminine."

Baca Zinn (1975) and Ybarra (1977) had similar findings but their data indicated a much higher level of participation by the husband in the performance of household chores. While the major responsibility still fell on the woman, husbands shared the tasks of cooking, dishwashing, grocery shopping and other traditionally female chores. Ybarra's study also

indicated that husbands' behavior had changed over time, since 30 percent of the wives stated their husband helped more in the sharing of household tasks than they had at the beginning of their marriage, while others stated their husbands had always helped. Of those where the husband was helping more, the increase occurred especially after the wife had started working. However, whether the wife worked or not, there was still a change towards the husband helping more. The study indicated that a sharing of tasks does exist in Chicano families and that these families should therefore not all be characterized as being patriarchal with a strict segregation of household roles and labor.

Hawkes and Taylor (1975) conducted a study of Chicano farm labor families and found that egalitarianism was by far the most common mode in both decision-making and action-taking. However, while they took into account such factors as U.S. or Mexican citizenship, level of acculturation, employment status of wife, and level of education of spouses, none of these factors were significant in explaining egalitarianism in the family. Baca Zinn (1980) in her study of Chicano families, however, did find that while decision-making was shared in most families, it tended to be more joint in families with employed wives. Wives' labor force status, therefore, contributed to a greater egalitarianism in decision-making and in the division of household tasks.

Cromwell and Ruiz (1979), while not focusing on the impact of specific factors on conjugal role structure, reviewed four major studies on decision-making and Chicano families and concluded that the studies failed to support the notion of male-dominance in marital decision-making:

The patriarchal Hispanic family structure characterized by macho dominance in marital decision-making is a myth which prevails in social science literature. This myth, which is perpetuated and disseminated through impressionistic essays, is very compatible with the "social deficit" model of Hispanic family life and culture. Our conclusion—based on an intensive analysis of four major studies on marital decision-making within Mexican and Chicano families—is that the available data fail to substantiate the hypothesis of Mexican and/or Chicano male dominance in marital decision-making. (1979:355)

Staples and Mirande (1980) also state that virtually every systematic study of conjugal roles in the family has found egalitarianism to be the predominant pattern across socio-economic groups, educational levels, urban-rural residences, and regions of the country.

The most extensive research survey to date on Chicano families was conducted by the National Chicano Research Network at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research. This survey investigated a great number of variables and analyses of the data are currently being done. However, preliminary findings on familial roles and sharing of household tasks are available. Ybarra and Arce (1981), in dealing with this topic, concluded:

Chicano husbands, to a similar degree as other husbands, participate in the performance of household chores and do so to a considerable extent. However, particular chores such as cooking or laundry are more resistant to "defeminization". There is clearly household chore egalitarianism in behavior in the majority of Chicano families in the U.S., even while a strong resistance to a full sharing of all chores remains among husbands. This mix of egalitarianism and resistance parallels that of husbands in the general population. (1981:19)

Recent studies have thus served to negate the previous assumptions that all Chicano families were male-dominated with the wife having no role in decision-making and the husband never participating in household tasks. They have, in fact, found that egalitarian roles do exist in the majority of Chicano families.

The current stage of research is significant because it marks the beginning of the empirical negation of stereotypes, primarily those which focused on husband-wife roles in relation to decision-making and to division of household chores. Considering that the majority of stereotypes centered around these roles, it was a logical starting point for renewed analysis. However, this stage is important for two other major reasons. Studies are now being conducted specifically on Chicanas to examine many distinct areas besides their roles as wives and mothers. In addition, there is an increasing number of Chicanas who are conducting research on the family and on Chicanas. A brief overview of this research follows.

Currently research on Chicana sex roles ranges from their roles as workers and as students, to their participation in labor struggles, their

attitudes and utilization of abortion services and their attitudes toward aging. There is also a growing number of books and bibliographies which expand the list of research on Chicanas. The major works include *Diosa y Hembra: The History and Heritage of Chicanas in the U.S.* (1976) by Marta Cotera, who provides an excellent overview of the historical role of Chicanas; *Essays on La Mujer*, (1977) edited by Sanchez and Cruz, who analyze the situation of Chicanas from an economic perspective; *La Chicana: The Mexican-American Woman* (1979), by Mirande and Enriquez, a socio-history of Chicanas, which discusses a variety of topics including cultural heritage, family roles, education, and feminism; *Mexican Women in the United State: Struggles Past and Present* (1980) edited by Mora and Del Castillo, which includes articles that present a class analysis of social movements and/or Chicana participation in those movements; and *Twice A Minority: Mexican American Women* (1980) by Margarita Melville, which explores a variety of topics ranging from Chicana use of abortion to the acculturation of female Mexican migrants. This recent proliferation of research and publications dealing specifically with the Chicana marks the third stage of research development. This research is based on a reanalysis of Chicana women in their many complex and varying roles.

While a good deal of research remains to be done, a solid basis for future study on Chicanas nevertheless has been established. Unfortunately the same cannot be said regarding Chicano male roles. Empirical research, specifically directed at understanding Chicano male roles within and outside of the family, is minimal. (Mejia, 1975; Ybarra, 1977; Luzod and Arce 1979; Luevano, 1982). How Chicanos cope with changes, how they see their roles as men, as fathers and/or husbands, and other social and psychological aspects of their lives, need to be examined. One of the more recent studies to focus specifically on this area has been Richard Luevano's (1982) study on male sex roles within the Chicano family. His results indicated that the role of the father is undergoing a great amount of change, especially in the areas of support for their partner's occupation outside the home, equality in the attainment of a college education, the discussion and initiation of sex, support in the area of birth control, sharing in the major decision making and open communication with their partner. Luevano concluded that both men and women are undergoing a change toward more egalitarian sex roles.

Both in the study of familial roles and roles outside the family, there are significant areas of research which remain virtually untouched and which need both historical and contemporary analysis. Attempting to

merge both historical and contemporary analysis in order to better understand Chicano familial processes is an emergent and important part in the current stage of research on Chicano families. Thus, in addition to survey research, oral histories are also being utilized in an effort to provide a more accurate and complex portrait of Chicano family life. (Ybarra and Saragoza, 1980; Eläser, et al. 1980). Oral histories are particularly useful for two reasons: they document the history of Chicanos as a whole as well as the roles that individual families have in that history. The history of a few families can help us to understand the history of many families in a particular period of time, and thus help us discover the basis of many of our contemporary familial beliefs and values.

Survey research and oral histories are the primary tools in the current study of Chicano families. Since they are quite obviously traditional social science methodologies, however, their use raises several questions. First, is it possible to change methodological approaches when one's training has been in traditional research methods? Secondly, is the major problem based on whether or not one can develop new methodologies, or on how the data that is collected, regardless of the methodologies used, is interpreted? Considering that waiting to conduct research until completely new methodologies are developed is impractical, some of the established research methods should continue to be utilized as long as one remembers to utilize them critically when analyzing the data. However, a third question, which has been posed for years, also arises. Can research from a Chicano perspective be done within the confines of traditional disciplines and traditional research methodologies or must alternative paradigms be developed? (Munoz, 1980)

The theoretical alternative, which resulted from the latter view, considered Chicanos to be a colonized people and interpreted data based on this theoretical model. Some retain this model while it has fallen out of favor with others. It was, however, the first effort at not utilizing the traditionally accepted theoretical models. Sotomayor (1971) incorporated this perspective in her discussion of the Chicano family:

If the Mexican American family is to be understood, it has to be within the historical perspective of a colonized people in its native country and in this country. In this perspective the Mexican Americans have many of the characteristics of other colonized people, with the majority society relating to them as outsiders. The inferior status of the colonized people results in damage

to self-esteem, destruction of native cultural traits and adoption of foreign cultural traits, disintegration of the family unit with particular disparagement of the male, and, finally, loss of social cohesion among so-called inferior groups because of their inability to retain their own culture. (1971:319)

Sotomayor continues that the present social structure denies the Mexican American family a positive status and identity, excludes it from community activities, and gives it the feeling of alienation, marginality, and anemic. Baca Zinn (1979) also states that conceptualizing family structure in terms of distinct social conditions rather than cultural values alone is consistent with the very important position developed by Yancey, et al., on ethnicity in American society:

They argue quite conclusively that ethnic groups are best understood not in terms of a transplanted cultural heritage, but in terms of the structural conditions of society in general and urbanization in particular. . . . This reformulation of ethnicity has important implications for the study of Chicano families in particular and ethnic families in general. Rather than treating them as survivors from a former time, ethnic families may actually be seen as new forms of social life that are generated, revived, and transformed by distinct forces in modern society. (1979:67)

Baca Zinn and Sotomayor both concluded that Chicano family structure should not be seen as exhibiting certain patterns only because of adherence to a particular culture, but as a result of interaction with many different societal factors.

The realization that many factors need to be considered when studying Chicano familial processes, that these factors need to be analyzed by a variety of methodologies, and that the results need to be interpreted through alternative theoretical models, are major developments in the third and current stage of Chicano family research. They provide a crucial background to negate past stereotypical studies of the family and to solidify a basis whereby future, more complex and multi-dimensional portraits of the family could develop.

Conclusion

While a solid basis of Chicano family research has been established, further research needs to be done in many areas, such as the socio-psychological implications of changes in male and female roles as husband/wife/parent, in children's roles within the family, and in male/female roles outside the family. Both the immediate and long-term effects these changes might have in overall family structure need to be studied. However, any analysis would have to consider the changes Chicano family structure has undergone in the United States. It is, therefore, necessary to determine which values characterized the family at a given period of time and which economic, social and historical factors were prevalent during each period. An analysis of the Chicano family should not be based on the views that it has remained static and intact, over time and over varying geographic areas, whether this encompasses migration from Mexico to the U.S. or within the U.S. itself. Chicanos must be seen as a mobile, changing people with many patterns and variations in their family structure.

As the latest developments in Chicano family research also stressed, since the Chicano family is very important in shaping the attitudes and values of its members toward education, employment, and life in general, the 'negative' aspects attributed to the Chicano family should not be consistently and selectively pointed out while the positive aspects are either ignored or considered exceptions to the rule. This results in the family being viewed as 'pathological' and as a detriment to the growth and advancement of Chicanos.

Most important, the effects of societal factors need to be considered. A class analysis should be utilized in explaining the structural variables affecting the Chicano family, and therefore, factors of poverty, racism and oppression which permeate every aspect of life need to be taken into account. No study of the Chicano family is realistic, much less complete, which does not incorporate these factors and their impact on family structure.

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The Conceptualization of the History of the Chicano Family

Alex M. Saragoza

The history of the family of people of Mexican descent in the United States remains largely unexplored. In fact, the emerging evidence points to more questions rather than to more answers.¹ In this regard, the work of social scientists and allied professionals continues to be essentially ahistorical, maintains a narrow focus, sustains implicit (if not explicit) forms of cultural and nationalistic pieties, and employs a thicket of jargon. With few exceptions, such literature contributes little to the understanding of the workings of the family over time.² Ironically, history lurks prominently in the background or in the assumptions of such writings. Unfortunately, historians have often added to the problem, if only indirectly. The "good guys-bad guys" approach to Chicano history underlies much of the literature on the Chicano family and its component parts. It appears that students of the Chicano experience persist in arranging the world between light and dark, right and left brains, traditional versus modern conjugal roles, Mexican

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and Anglo value orientations, familism against individualism. And, of course, these dichotomies are often couched in the *historic* difference between Chicanos and Anglos.³ This attempt to polarize Chicano history rests on dangerous, if not erroneous, assumptions.

The arrangement of history into "them vs. us" flattens the Chicano past as if Chicanos represent a historically homogeneous, monolithic group. The reality appears quite the opposite. Indeed the current historical evidence, meager as it is, points to the fundamental cultural variation and social differentiation among families of Mexican descent in the United States. The discussion over the use of the term Chicano, Mexican, Mexican-Mexican, American, Hispanic, and Latino, underscores the obvious. As one observer noted recently:

...the Mexican American family does not exist. Rather, there are a multitude of family systems conditioned by a variety of factors. In terms of the Southwest, it appears that families in California exhibit the greatest variation, and those in South Texas and rural New Mexico probably the least. (Miller, 1978)

In this light, the challenge lies in the identification and analysis of the "factors" over time. More importantly, the conceptualization of those factors remains the crucial issue in the historical understanding of the Chicano family—a question faced by others in the historical study of the family.

The theoretical debate on the family cannot be fully delineated here, but for the study of Chicanos, the present debate holds important con-

¹The diversity of the Chicano experience continues to punctuate the growing research of Chicano scholars. The simplistic depiction of history into Anglo vs. Chicano misses significant differentiation within the Chicano community. For an excellent example of this type of penetrating analysis, see David Montejano, "Is Texas Bigger Than the World-system? A Critique from a Provincial Point of View," *Review IV* (Winter 1981):597-628.

²The bibliography prepared for this paper by the Stanford Chicano Research Center contained less than a dozen historical works out of nearly a hundred citations on Chicano family research.

³As a result, literature on the Chicano-family breaks down into opposing camps between critics and supporters. Alfredo Mirande, "The Chicano Family: A Reanalysis of Conflicting Views," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* (November 1977):747-756.

sequences.⁴ First, the debate over family history has clearly undermined, if not discredited entirely, the concept of modernization in general, modernization theory in particular, and its attendant functionalist/Parsonian mutations.⁵ Second, the consequent and expanding use of Marxist categories confronted a number of problems, not the least of which were the disagreements among Marxists.⁶ Third, (an extension of the above), the rise of women's studies represented a critical rift in the study of the history of the family. Feminism has produced much scholarly work that was divorced to a large extent, from the larger issue of the family. The separation of women's history from the history of the family has led to benefits as well as liabilities—a lesson students of the Chicano experience must not ignore (Degler, 1980). Nonetheless, the feminist critique of the history of the family forced historians to take into account the significance of the relationship between patriarchy and capitalist development—an especially fruitful perspective for Chicano studies, as this paper will demonstrate.

For Chicano scholars the debate over the family and its historical analysis created the task of understanding different lines of thought, and assessing their applicability to the experience of Chicanos. Thus, while implicit, if not explicit, polemics among scholars of various ideological persuasions were voiced, a smaller, though no less important discussion took place among Chicanos over the utility of the seemingly contending plethora of views on the family; male-female relations, parenting, sexuality, child-rearing and the aged. This internal debate was impeded by the process of overcoming the intellectual "hangover" of cultural nationalism, internal colonialism, and assimilation/acculturation models that, like nagging headaches, refused to go away.⁷ Such models of interpreting the Chicano experience maintained the tendency toward the polarization of "Anglo vs.

⁴The "boom" in family and women's history is vast and the issues raised are wide-ranging. For a useful introduction, see Gerda Lerner et. al., *Liberating Women's History: Theoretical and Critical Essays* (1976).

⁵See Christopher Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World: The Family Besieged* (1977), especially chapter 7.

⁶See for a valuable starting point, Timothy Diamond and Adele Mueller, "Linking Patriarchy and Capitalism: Issues in Marxist Feminist Theory," *Harvard Educational Review* 50 (February 1980):71-79.

⁷For a thoughtful, insightful commentary, see Maxine Baca Zinn, "Chicano Family Research: Conceptual Distortions and Alternative Directions," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 7 (1979):58-71.

Chicanos," e.g., the colonizer and the colonized, assimilated and unassimilated. Rather, a critical examination pointed to the overwhelming diversity of the Chicano family—not its uniformity.

In short, the simplistic notions of "them vs. us" in the history of the family failed to work except perhaps outside the ardent imaginations of "born-again" Chicano nationalists. Yet, to emphasize the diversity in the experiences of Chicano families is to say the obvious. The historical explanation is less easily made, however, of this reasonable conclusion. The conceptual problems are formidable since such a framework must take into account at least (1) the impact of race and class, (2) the socialization process and its psychological repercussions, and (3) the question of gender. Moreover, these three broad facts must be linked to related aspects of family, such as male-female relations and child rearing. Furthermore, a useful framework must tie these three basic elements into a dynamic whole that assumes contextual variations, e.g., urban-rural, regional and generational differences. In addition, the continuous immigration from Mexico must also be incorporated into any conceptual scheme of the Chicano family. This must be done with a full understanding of the characteristics of Mexican immigrants and their meanings within and outside the Chicano community. Since the family comprises a primary source of socialization for the wider society, the family hardly escapes the penetrating influences of the surrounding political economy. As a result, the conceptualization of Chicano family history must be based on the interface over time between family and capitalism both in Mexico and the United States, particularly the latter.

The significant historical work available suggests the need for a dynamic conceptual framework that integrates several factors and extends beyond an ingroup-outgroup dichotomy. For example, Griswold del Castillo's examination of Los Angeles noted the increase in female intermarriage with Anglo men after 1860. One reason, according to the author, was that "Anglo men were in control of the political and economic life of the city" (del Castillo, 1979). On the other hand, somewhat contradictorily, he argued that an "emergent ethnic consciousness developed as a separate cultural entity" (del Castillo, 1979: 138). In light of the above, what were the relations between Mexican women who married Mexicans and those who did not? And what of the perceptions between the corresponding offspring of each other?

Albert Camarillo's fascinating reconstruction of the relations between native-born and foreign-born Mexicans in Santa Barbara between 1850 and

1930 observed the differences between the two groups, including the various organizations of the city's Mexican enclaves. Yet, similar to Griswold del Castillo's inconsistency, Camarillo (1979: 154) concluded that "the organizations helped perpetuate Mexican culture... and cohesiveness in an otherwise foreign society."⁸

Mario Garcia's sensitive treatment of the Mexican community of El Paso, Texas from 1880 to 1920 provides a convincing case for the need to take into account a Mexican dimension on studies of the Chicano family. His chapter on border culture evokes the difficulties of easy generalizations, but, with an insightful observation, Garcia makes a crucial statement:

...a dialectical relationship existed between the immigrant's native culture and the attempt by American institutions and reformers *to restructure earlier habits and instill a new urban-industrial discipline among the Mexicans* (my emphasis). The eventual result: a Mexican border culture, neither completely Mexican nor American, but one revealing contrasting attractions and pressures between both cultures. (Garcia, 1981:231)

On the other hand, the location of El Paso and its distinctive economic development made perhaps for a peculiar context for Mexican families. For instance, the "pull" between the two cultures figures much less importantly in Douglas Foley's *et al.* (1977) monograph on South Texas Mexicanos in the early twentieth century. Conceivably, the subtleties in the socialization of Chicanos varied in the contexts of different communities; but a differentiation reflected in the economic and social histories of the various areas. Thus, it seems, the general historical conditions of Chicanos represents a critical point of departure in an effort to conceptualize the history of the Chicano family.

While the conditions of Chicanos over time share fundamental commonalities, the timing and character of the impact of race, class, economic change and attendant institutions (schools, media, police) were not always uniform. For instance, the nature of the migration of "Anglos" to California and the patterns of Mexican settlements prior to 1848 differed markedly from the situation in Texas. As a result, one area needed the armed force

⁸Earlier Camarillo noted the foreign-born requirements for some of these organizations; a distinction continued as he demonstrated in his section on the relations between native-born and foreign-born Mexicans, pp. 187-191.

of an organization like the Texas Rangers *rinches* while the huge, sudden influx of gold-seeking Americans made *rinche*-type vigilantism and its maintenance largely unnecessary in California.⁹

Thus, the incorporation of the areas of concentrated populations of Mexicanos into the fabric of American capitalist development frequently varied substantially. Some regions, valleys, cities were quickly absorbed. Others were less rapidly embraced, with corresponding differences in demographic patterns, levels and cycles of migration, labor force characteristics, and the impact of socializing institutions. In this light, "cultural conflict" was perhaps essentially an extension of the more basic confrontation between maturing American economic structures and the overwhelmingly majority of the Mexican population, mostly immigrants, who labored under these structures. But the experience contained, like that of other immigrant workers, a myriad of variations. As Daniel T. Rodgers (1978: 172) has noted, what happened to immigrant workers "depended critically on the circumstances of their encounter with the American economy." Or as Herbert Gutman stressed,

just as in all modernizing countries, the United States faced the difficult task of industrializing whole cultures, but in this country the process was regularly repeated, each stage of American economic growth and development involving different first-generation factory workers. (Gutman, 1977: 14)

As Gutman suggested, at each stage of American economic development there occurred related changes in major forms of societal influence that supported directly and indirectly the absorption of immigrant workers e.g., schools, advertising, and fashions.¹⁰ However, in the case of Mexicans, the process was repeated over time due to the persistence of Mexican immigration. Moreover, though less visibly perhaps, Mexico also changed.

⁹An analysis of the concentration of Mexicans in Texas and California on the one hand, and the location of prime agricultural land on the other, indicates the basis for the intensity of conflict between Mexican small farmers in Texas against Anglo interlopers. This was not necessarily the case in California due to the fact that large California landowners monopolized land near the coast and the central valley's fertile fields were essentially undeveloped prior to 1850. See Richard L. Nostrand, "Mexican Americans circa 1850," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 65 (September 1975):378-390.

¹⁰For an example, see Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture* (1976).

The experience of Mexican immigrants in 1920 differed in many ways from that of a Mexican immigrant in 1970 because of alterations in the social and economic fabric of both countries on either side of the Rio Grande. In this connection, the complexity and effects of socialization institutions increasingly penetrated the lives of Mexican immigrants with consequent variation in the influence wielded by such institutions over Mexican newcomers and their offspring.¹¹

Immigration from Mexico accounts for the overwhelming majority of people of Mexican descent in the U.S. At best, 100,000 Spanish-speaking people populated the Southwest in 1850 a minute number in the huge geographical expanse that arched from southern Texas to northern California. Thus, for the purposes of this paper, the focus will remain primarily on Mexican immigrants.

The basic cause of Mexican immigration stemmed from the rapid industrialization of the U.S. and its corresponding need for cheap labor at the turn of the century. In this process, the West served as a source of raw materials for the rest of the country, especially the Atlantic seaboard's major cities. In this period, "the West," as Gerald Nash (1973: 18) characterized it "was an economic colony of the East." For several decades, the relationship of the West to the national economy also cast Mexicans in the western states as a source of cheap labor. In the economic development of the U.S., the concentration of Mexicans in a distinct economic region was significant in the interplay between American social institutions and Mexicans in the U.S. In this context, the socialization and adjustment of Mexican immigrant families reflected certain critical factors that are central to conceptualization of the history of the Chicano family.

First, the social life of immigrants increasingly confronted an economic system that used advertising as a major element of influence that had social and economic effects. Put more bluntly, Christopher Lasch (1977: xvii) argues that the isolation of the "home is a sham in a world dominated by giant corporations and by the apparatus of mass promotion."

¹¹For instance, the development of the mass media in Mexico after the revolution of 1910 increasingly emphasized nationalism and as a result, Mexican immigrants come to this country much more aware of modern amenities and their meanings. See Luis Unikel, "El proceso de urbanización," in *Perfil de Mexico en 1980* (1972):237.

Second, the economy and culture of Mexico differed markedly from that of the U.S. The agrarian-based and underdeveloped Mexican economy shaped the socialization of most immigrants far into the present century.

Third, in the twentieth century both countries witnessed the rise of two institutions that tended to "reproduce" a society compatible with each nation's political economy—schools and the mass media. As American pressures to conform multiplied, Mexican immigrants faced a growing contradiction since Mexico exerted a countervailing, nationalistic influence. Mexican immigrants were caught in a dilemma between two sources of often incompatible cultural pressures, a situation compounded by the proximity of Mexico and continuous Mexican immigration.

Fourth, the pressures to conform and the enduring repercussions of the economic and racial status of Mexicans in the U.S. alienated young people to varying degrees. Because of continuous immigration, this alienation was experienced by Mexican families beyond the initial, large-scale entry of Mexicans into the U.S. from 1880 to 1930. However, the historical context of this phenomenon was not identical for each successive wave of Mexican immigrants as conditions within and outside barrios changed.

These combined factors contributed to the differentiation of Chicano families into "americanized" Mexican Americans, *cholos*, "traditional" *Mexicanos* and "progressive" Chicano families. In short, these factors are the key elements to the conceptualization of Chicano family history. While the experience in the U.S. remains fundamental, the Mexican dimension of this conceptual framework cannot be ignored. Despite the cultural nationalism that often colors Chicano writings, Mexican variables transmitted through the impacts of immigrants into Chicano communities continue to be largely neglected.

In this light, child-rearing, adolescence (if it occurred), marriage, and identity in Mexico were bound by the economic necessities of life. Most Mexican women were valued for their household qualities, men by the ability to work and to provide for a family. Children were taught to get up early, to contribute to the family's labor, to prepare themselves for adult life—childhood was short, adolescence still shorter, and adulthood too often a gradual wearing down under the weight of harsh labor. Such a life demanded discipline, authority, deference—values that cemented the working of a family surrounded and shaped by the requirements of Mexico's distinctive historical pattern of agricultural development, especially its pervasive debt peonage. As a consequence, of Mexico's population in 1910,

80% lived in the countryside, mostly in small villages (over 90% in hamlets of under 500 inhabitants), and more importantly, in hamlets that "were for all practical purposes entirely dependent on the large estates for the means of holding body and soul together" (Simpson, 1973: 36-37). Even in southern Mexico, where the classic hacienda system defined by Chevalier was less complete, "peons rarely left Valley haciendas without a commotion," William Taylor has noted, as "hacendados went to extremes to prevent peons from freeing themselves from the obligations tying them to the hacienda" (Taylor, 1972: 150).¹² Not surprisingly, the penetration of American railroads into Mexico, the lure of higher wages, and the blandishments of American employers touched off a flood-tide of immigration to the United States prior to 1910 that was subsequently accelerated by the upheaval precipitated by the Mexican Revolution.

Thus, Mexican men, women, and families brought to the United States a concept of family largely rooted in Mexico's agrarian past. The conflict between American society and Mexican immigrants, however, was attenuated initially by the encapsulation of the Mexican community by a) their role in the labor force; b) segregation, *de jure* and *de facto*; c) the presence of "Mexican" enclaves prior to the substantial arrival of Mexican immigrants. Such conditions facilitated the maintenance of concepts of family based upon the Mexican experiences of immigrants.

In general terms, Mexican immigrants found work in agriculture, construction, mining—and significantly, to a much lesser extent than European immigrants—in industry.¹³ Agricultural labor, by definition, was unstable; construction was also cyclical, often dictated by weather as much as anything else; mines opened and closed on the basis of both prices and yield of the product being exploited. In brief, Mexican immigrants suffered the usual ills associated with cheap labor as well as work characterized by fluctuations, instability, and often by migration. Even in California, and Los Angeles specifically, where the economy was perhaps the most diversified, transiency marked the lives of Mexican workers. Consequently, the ability of Mexicanos to "set down roots" was undermined substantially by the nature of their labor. This was compounded by racism and

¹² See also the landmark study by Francois Chevalier, *Land and Society in Colonial Mexico: The Great Hacienda* (1963); especially pp. 295-314.

¹³ For an overview, see Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest* (1979):76-99. For Los Angeles, see Ricardo Romo, "Work and Restlessness: Occupational and Spatial Mobility among Mexicanos in Los Angeles, 1918-1928," *Pacific Historical Review* (1979):157-180.

its corollary effects that pushed Mexican workers to move on in search of better, more permanent jobs. Finally, to add one more ingredient to the process, the proximity of Mexico pulled many immigrants away from American society. In short, transiency slowed and diluted the incorporation of Mexicans into the fabric of industrial capitalism in early twentieth century America.

If transiency was not enough, segregation maintained the general isolation of the Mexican community. This was most obvious in rural, agricultural areas where the effects of class and race created a polarized ambience. As Foley, *et al.* noted in their study of Southern Texas prior to 1930, "there was an Anglo world and a Mexican world, and the main place where these worlds met was the dusty fields" (Foley, 1977: 44). Such conditions, as Camarillo has observed, were also found in cities and towns less dependent on an agricultural economy.

For the family, these conditions pressed families together and sustained to a large extent the practices of the past. Given the agrarian background of most Mexican immigrants, father and older siblings trudging off to the fields *together* was not unexpectedly novel. Women working with their families only reinforced parent-child contact and served to strengthen familial ties as well as provide children with a sense of instrumental value to the family's welfare. The degree of separateness of farmworkers and their work-imposed transiency produced conditions conducive to the maintenance of family practices consistent with the Mexican past.

This was of course less true in the factory, in situations where Mexicanos found permanent work and achieved a greater degree of stability. In this respect, the effects of racism functioned as a barrier to the incorporation of Mexicanos into the dominant society; an absorption slowed further by the inability of most immigrants to attain substantial wealth and the necessary trappings reserved primarily for middle-class *non-Mexicans*. Thus, even permanent, stable employment did not necessarily lead to social acceptance. Hence, the continuity of Mexican cultural forms were aided, if only inadvertently, by the generalized expressions of prejudice and exclusion faced by the overwhelming number of Mexicanos, despite the fact some Mexicanos found, comparatively speaking, "good" jobs. In this connection, the so-called "*barrioization*" of the Mexican community also served to reinforce Mexican elements of socialization.¹⁴

¹⁴On the processes of *barrioization*, see Camarillo, *Chicanos*, Chapter 3, where on p. 75 he notes that Chicanos responded to their oppression by "insulating themselves in the barrio and by modifying and adapting their community to the new circumstances they faced."

Racism and the nature of jobs, framed the social life of Mexicanos so that most interaction occurred among Mexicanos themselves. Understandably, parents perpetuated many, if not most, of the Mexican values through their own socialization practices. Equally important, by living in *barrios*, parents found an atmosphere largely congruent in their thoughts on child-rearing, dating, sexuality, the treatment of the elderly and on male-female relations (Garcia, 1980: 202-211). Predictably, like immigrants from Europe, Mexicanos attempted to replicate the cultural patterns associated with the family in their new setting.

Customs of marriage, baptism, death, recreation, religion, holidays, and the like nourished such efforts. Needless to say, the prevalence of this socialization process led to pressures of conformity on residents of *barrios* (a conformity few *abuelitas* did not experience).¹⁵ Moreover, the nationalism unleashed by the Mexican Revolution contributed to a sense of "ethnic consciousness," an incipient, if not obvious, pride in being Mexican. For adult immigrants, such feelings came easily. Poverty too often was the lot of Mexicans in the U.S. but a poverty tempered by the memories of harsher times in Mexico. In the midst of hardship, husband and wives found moments of solace, and little if anything to be ashamed of in the eyes of their Mexican counterparts.¹⁶

In general terms, industrial capitalism, particularly in the Southwest, was content to sustain the separateness of its cheap labor force from Mexico. As a result, the slow integration of Mexican immigrant labor permitted the persistence of a concept of family rooted in the historical social and cultural residue of a dependent, colonial economy resting largely on agriculture. Self-worth was, therefore, still primarily determined by a matrix of values emanating from the Mexican background of the immigrant. Inter-marriage is a key reference point and not surprisingly was very low with non-Mexicans

¹⁵ Oral histories often indicate the pressures of the barrio on female behavior to conform to the old ways. For an example from the San Joaquin Valley of California, see "Patterns of Change and Continuity among Mexican Women of the Central San Joaquin Valley, 1930-1950," by Alex M. Saragoza, a paper presented at a Research Conference on Women and Work, University of California, Berkeley, 1981.

¹⁶ Paul S. Taylor, in his introduction to Gamio's collection of autobiographic statements by Mexican immigrants, noted the recurrent thread of patriotism that ran through most of the interviews conducted by Gamio in *Life Story*, pp. vi, vii.

even in settings such as urban Los Angeles (Panunzio, 1942). There were exceptions, of course, and in many ways, the exceptions represented the signs of a fundamental shift in the relations between the Mexican community and the patterns of socialization in American society.

The penetration of industrial capitalism into the process of socialization was most keenly felt in the rising cities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As Robert Wiebe captured well in his *Search for Order*, the maturation of the American industrial economy demanded standardization, predictability, conformity, regulation. This imperative found ideological expressions in the concerns over social cohesiveness, Americanism, and anti-radicalism, especially after World War I (Wiebe, 1967). This tendency in American life was accompanied by the tremendous expansion of mass consumption—consumption orchestrated by the country's major economic interests. Even workers were swept up in the race for material possessions. Indeed, as Eli Zaretsky has noted,

the emphasis on consumption was an important means through which the newly proletarianized, and still resisting, industrial working class was reconciled to the rise of corporate capitalism, and through which the enormous immigrant influx...was integrated with the industrial working class. (Zaretsky, 1976: 67)

Mutually reinforcing developments in schooling, fashions, advertising, and popular culture worked to promote the identification of material worth with self-worth, status and identity, based on certain standards of dress, residence, behavior, and occupation. For example, advertising expenditures doubled between 1920-1929; in 1921, the first radio station was licensed and by 1929, 4.5 million radio sets were produced (Leuchtenburg, 1973: 328). In this context, of intensifying conformity based on mass consumption, "the 'poor' [felt] personally inadequate and ashamed" (Zaretsky, 1967: 69). Being different held few rewards. As Irving Howe observed in his sensitive portrayal of immigrant Jews in New York, these pressures filtered down to the family, between older immigrants and their children, who were more vulnerable to the world outside and its influences. For parents, "there was a state of battle, not quite a declared war but far from a settled peace" (Howe, 1976: 261). Thus, the conforming atmosphere of the era led to a:

sense of embarrassment derived from a half-acknowledged shame before the perceived failings of one's parents, and both embarrassment: and shame

mounted insofar as one began to acquire the tastes of the world. (Howe, 1976: 262)

This was a painful process, laced with ambiguity and bewildering emotions.

The depression shattered the underpinnings of American capitalism and threatened its hegemony. Not surprisingly, one of the major tasks of the state was to maintain social coherence, to defuse class conflict, to mask the contradictions in American society. Scapegoating understandably flourished—the deportation of hundreds of thousands of Mexicanos testified to the need to sustain “unity” by blaming others for the shortcomings of the economy. Consistent with managing the potential for strife, the media, for example, was used “in a reinforcement of existing values and beliefs through an emphasis on...the notion that men should be content with what they had rather than nourish unattainable ambitions...and a discomfort with any sort of person who appeared unstable or rebellious” (Pells, 1973: 261). Hence, the pressures of conformity were sustained despite the lack of a material basis for mass consumption. In short, despite the economic crisis, the influence of capitalist hegemony retained its remarkable effectiveness.

World War II and the stress on patriotism maintained the ideological intensity of Americanism, conformity, and sociocultural homogenization. The aftermath of World War II ushered still other forms of similar pressures that were associated with the Cold War. The economic boom of a “warfare state” reinforced the tractable powers of mass consumption, or as one eminent American historian has termed, “the consumer culture” (Leuchtenburg, 1973: 442). Thus, political ideology and economic practices cooperated in strengthening the importance of conformity: “a tendency to denounce anything associated with the different or disturbing as part of a Communist conspiracy” (Goldman, 1960: 121). Predictably, second and third-generation immigrants were particularly sensitive to the question of ethnic difference and Americanism (Goldman, 1960: 128). The media once again provided a telling example of the penetrating qualities of post-war capitalism. In 1946, there were 17,000 TV sets; ten years later, there were 40 million in the U.S. (Leuchtenburg, 1973: 739-740).

In light of the above, the doubling of married women in the work force between 1940 and 1960 had much to do with the attempt of mothers to provide additional income—if not status—to the family, and less to do with a sense of fulfillment. The kind of jobs women were funneled into were hardly uplifting. While more women worked, changes in their roles

were still largely unforeseen or not obvious in public.¹⁷ (Privately, women could be and often were, less restricted by appropriate sanctioned forms of public femininity).

In summary the American political economy increasingly exerted tremendous pressures of conformity that pervaded schooling, popular culture, advertising and the mass media. Few, including growing numbers of Mexicans, escaped such pressures. In his classic work on Mexican immigrants, Gamio revealed the ability of American capitalism to erode the sociocultural matrix of values associated with socialization of Mexican immigrants:

The children, who are in high school, already speak English, for they have been in the school four years... They remember Mexico but they don't want to go back either. They never go to a celebration of a [Mexican] national holiday... (Gamio, 1931: 252)

Or as one woman stated,

I think that it would be hard for me to go back to the customs of Mexico... I went to visit in Morelia. My uncle found me very much changed. (Gamio 1931: 256)

In subtle, and not so subtle ways, the pressures to conform was a powerful corrosive force on Mexican familial values in early twentieth-century industrialism.

Given their poverty and "foreignness," Mexican children perhaps suffered most from the stigma of being "different"; racism served to intensify the pain. The depression of the 1930s, tended to redouble the pressures on Mexican families. If the deportations fueled the fears of parents, the public concerns over "Mexicans" undermined the "insularity" of Mexican communities, especially among youth. The economic harshness of the depression, its unemployment—its deflating impact on fragile aspirations and hard-earned possessions—contributed to a deep sense of loss, disappointment, and, at times, failure. The estrangement between parent and

¹⁷ For a valuable summary, see Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (1980): Chapter 17, especially pp. 430-435, where Degler points out: "Rather than signifying a repudiation of the traditional primacy of the family... it (work) betokens a continuing involvement with the family... work, however, is clearly subordinated to the needs of the family... rather than increasing women's autonomy within the family." (p. 431).

child—experienced by previous immigrants—increasingly affected Mexican families. Like so many other parents, regardless of background, fathers lost a measure of their authority and legitimacy.¹⁸

The 1940s and World War II understandably maintained the pressures to conform to "Americanism." The pervasive propaganda of that era stressed unity, togetherness, and universal purpose. Patriotism and its ideological trappings literally drove a wedge into the "cracks" of Mexican family socialization observed by Gamio as early as 1928. The post-war period exacerbated the distance between older immigrants and their offspring. Young immigrants, sons and daughters of Mexicanos, discovered a sad truth: "self-respect, status, and recognition by one's fellows as can be achieved depend primarily on the possession of material objects" (Baran and Sweezy, 1966: 345).

Access, therefore, to the economic means to acquire such status was crucial. Unfortunately, the position of Chicanos in the American political economy failed to change rapidly. As Mario Barrera concluded, "evidence on occupational stratification indicates there has been some integration of the Chicano population into the regular class structure since 1930" (Barrera, 1979: 139). Upward mobility was slow, while the intensity of the pressures to conform accelerated through World War II, McCarthyism and post-war consumption patterns. Chicanos in urban areas, in schools for longer periods of time, in jobs with greater security, were able to begin the acquisition of the material means of status. Acceptance, however, into the dominant society was another matter.

Ironically, the assimilation of Chicanos often failed to assure integration. Conformity, especially in the post-war era, demanded more than just participation in the patterns of consumption. Mobility also required the shearing or attenuation of cultural distinctions; language was usually the first casualty. The number of Chicanos born in the 1940s and 1950s who do not speak Spanish bears eloquent testimony to the success of hegemonic institutions—such as schools—to peel away the external features of cultural difference. Parents realized the consequences. The efforts of the so-called "Mexican American" generation to desegregate schools, to reform the blatant abuses against people of Mexican descent, reflected the desire for acceptance; the requirements were high as some parents virtually pushed

¹⁸The deportation efforts could have hardly encouraged young children to affirm their ethnicity. See Foley, et. al., *From Peones to Politicos*, p. 124-125.

their children away from speaking Spanish.¹⁹ Regardless of the rationalization, the "Mexican American's" integrationist position implicitly, if not explicitly, suggested their subscription to the values posited by the dominant society. The often slight class distinctions among people of Mexican descent were magnified by the questions of "cultural" identity.²⁰ It was an understandable, though lamentable development.

Jerome Kagan's views on this issue merit lengthy consideration:

...the child's evaluation of the parents' desirable and undesirable attributes is a dimension of particular importance. For most young children, the parent is perceived to be physically stronger and psychologically more competent...regardless of the parents' actual strength or competence vis-a-vis other adults in the community...During the early school years, the child comes to appreciate—often for the first time—the attributes the wider society values or derogates...That knowledge produces a sharp change in the child's conception both of his parents and of himself, for the insight regarding society's evaluation of his parents is taken as a diagnosis of the self. Hence the family's social class...influence the degree to which the child's conceptualization of himself is positive or negative. (Kagan, 1978: 35)

In summary, the socialization of Chicanos was less in the hands of parents, *barrios*, or Mexican institutions or customs. Self-worth was more than wealth; one had to be "right." Regardless of class, the pressure was the same; the solution for poor children, however, from Spanish-speaking homes involved more than the acquisition of the accouterments of the consumer culture. From their perspective, some families won the "battle" and achieved mobility at noticeable cost to cultural distinctions; still others won the "war"—mobility without exchanging in return a sense of pride in

¹⁹As early as 1929 with the founding of LULAC, the question of language, Latin-American Citizens," *A Documentary History of the Mexican Americans* (1971):364-366.

²⁰Using the concept of differential identity, Jose Limon's "Agringado Joking in Texas-Mexican Society: Folklore and Differential Identity," *New Directions in Chicano Scholarship* (1978):33-50, is an excellent example of how differences in Chicano communities take on important cultural meanings.

being Mexican. The outcomes varied among the "Mexican Americans," but few went through these years unscathed. The scars of this experience, as Chicano writers have suggested, were frequently numerous and enduring.²¹

But for most Chicanos, the cumulative effects of race and class provided few resources to combat the social and cultural imperatives of American capitalism. Not surprisingly, urban Chicano families experienced the most alienation, especially the second and third generations. Shorn of their ability to reproduce their own viable socialization processes—"Mexican" schools were few and far between—many families began to increasingly reflect the consequences of being neither "Mexican" nor "American" (i.e. the inability to attain the material objects of economically-defined status). Joan Moore's description of the *barrio* economy of East Los Angeles contains the ingredients of this alienation—an alienation from, or lack of attachment to, the dominant society (Moore, 1978).²²

The formation of gangs, early marriage, the intensity of emotional relations among youths, indicated expressions of the proletarianization of life:

...people sought in themselves the only coherence, consistency, and unity capable of reconciling the fragmentation of social life...Proletarianization generated new needs—for trust, intimacy...which intensified the weight of meaning attached to the personal relations of the family...personal relations were pursued as an end in themselves. (my emphasis) (Zaretsky, 1976: 66)

The popularity of romantic love songs of the classic "oldies-but-goodies" suggested the need for affirmation; an affirmation denied by the wider society, an affirmation sought in "klikas," zoot suits, and *chuco* dress, dialect and posturing. In certain ways, *pachucos* were *pochos* without the means to be "Mexican Americans." "Mexican Americans" attempted to cover up their differentness—*tapados*; the *chuco*, in his socioeconomic circumstances, could not afford to hide, so he took refuge in dependent relations such as gangs. Similarly, Irving Howe wrote about Jewish youth

²¹Chicano fiction reflects this conflict. See Francisco Lomeli, "The Family Crisis in Three Chicano Novels: Disintegration vs. Continuity," *Selected Papers*, pp. 141-155.

²²For a stinging analysis, see George Sanchez' article on *pachucos* written in the aftermath of the "zoot suit riots" in 1943 and reprinted in *Documentary History of the Mexican American*, pp. 410-415.

gangs in New York in the early twentieth century: "In the gap between Jewish family and gentile world, the children of the immigrants improvised a variety of social forms on the streets" (Howe, 1976: 264). In rural areas where agriculture dominated the livelihood of *Mexicanos*, the changes were more gradual, less intense as the economy also shifted. As Foley, et al. noted:

Despite a great deal of continuity in the organization and customs of the families in the *colonia*, the changing economic conditions placed new strains upon the Mexicano family system. . . Moreover, life in the more urban market town placed many new pressures on every family. In the towns Mexicanos worked hard to pay the new house, the new car, and all the material things they began to value in a semi-urban situation. (my emphasis) (Foley, et. al., 1977: 124-125)

Mechanization, new technology and chemicals eroded the old rhythms of farm work as transiency accelerated, migration patterns changed and poverty persisted. However, "new life," as Foley observed, "had many frustrations, many forms of humiliation imposed by white society" (Foley, et. al., 1977: 125). Even in the remote corners of New Mexico, proud *ancianos* were not spared the pain of their children's battle: "in this country the Anglos are kings, and everyone has to speak their English or pay the penalties. . . I only worry that [they] will take the message seriously—will feel ashamed of their own parents. . ." (Coles, 1975: 64).

In the midst of these intensifying pressures, the strains multiplied, and the socialization tenets of the Mexican past sagged from the weight. Women, perhaps more than other members of the family, felt the tensions generated by the changes generated by industrial capitalism on Mexican family life. One reason was, of course, that more women worked, earned incomes and consequently demanded an accommodation within the family of their new roles. Conjugal role modifications related to work occurred (and continues into the present). Still, despite the World War II rise in working women, in 1950 less than a third of Chicanas worked. The overwhelming majority did not; those that did were often seasonal workers. Moreover, non-working women were not automatically powerless within the home; working women were not always able to effect a substantial change

in male-female relations in the home. Work and its impact on women and family relations constituted only one variable, albeit an important one.²³

Indeed, patriarchal attitudes permeated industrial capitalism. In this regard, American and Mexican men shared some views on male-female relations (such as the so-called double-standard). Rather, the differences lay in the definitions of women in the context of the respective forms of socialization. The use of women as cheap labor and as consumers remained within the boundaries of "women's work" and male images of women as sex objects. In this latter connection, industrial capitalism attempted to tie women to consumerism. These efforts, however, were at odds with the conventions of female behavior among many, if not most, Mexican immigrants.

In Mexico, for most women, their role was defined by the division of labor and the reproduction of labor power—wife and mother. However, the emphasis on mass consumption in the U.S. included a market based on gender—"to buy goods which create a mystic sphere of masculine attraction and approval" (Larguía and Dumoulin, 1980: 54). As a result, women remained subordinate to men and to the wider society's definition of individual status. Nonetheless, the sexual nature of American consumerism conflicted at times with the conservatism of Mexican views of women's roles.

For most women, therefore, the penetration of American capitalist views into the family contained a particularly difficult situation. The meaning of individual worth under capitalism by the 1930s rested on material possessions. Men and women were subject to such pressures, but in the case of women, the gender aspects of mass consumption included the additional pressure of violating the rules of female socialization dictated by Mexican custom. While Mexican men succumbed to the pressures of conformity emanating from industrial capital, those same pressures allowed for the maintenance of many patriarchal sexist attitudes. For women on the other hand, their integration into American material culture—fashions, cosmetics, hairdos—put them at odds with Mexican male expectations of Mexican women. To refuse the status rewards of "Americanization" put them at odds with the forces of conformity, e.g. "different," "old-fashioned," "traditional."

²³Based on the figures of Beatriz M. Pesquera, "Chicana Labor and Social History: 1848-1980," unpublished manuscript. See also Barrera, *Race and Class*, p. 131.

Again, Gamio's autobiographic stories revealed the incipient tensions involved for women caught in this bind:

Just to go out with, I like the American girls better. . . But if I were to marry I would marry a Mexican girl *because they are obedient and are grateful for everything. They know how to work in the house and they have a different way about them. The American girls do everything they want to and they don't pay attention to their husbands.* (my emphasis) (Gamio, 1931: 258)

The above statement made in the late 1920s reflected the views of many Mexican men. This was one side of the vise in which Mexican women were caught. The other side is reflected in Gamio's description of a Mexican immigrant mother:

The mother says she likes life in the U.S. . . Here she goes with freedom to the grocery store, clothing store, or wherever it may be, and buys whatever she wishes. . . She says, nevertheless, that she doesn't like the American customs in the matter of liberty and way of behaving of the young women of this country—customs and ways of being by which her daughters have been influenced and which greatly concern her. (Gamio, 1931: 234-235)

The contradictions apparent in the above statements described the hard choices that confronted Mexican women as early as 1930. The fact few women had the economic means to participate in the mass consumption process of industrial capital limited the level of this conflict; imitations reinforced by the effects of *barrioization*. However, as the penetration of hegemonic institutions increased into the Mexican family, as more Mexican women worked, as the double-standard persisted, the tensions noted earlier inevitably multiplied as the 1920s gave way to the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s.²⁴ Thus, the consumer society pulled working class women, including Mexicanas, into the prison of material goods; yet the opposing pull of Mexican patriarchal views remained from a variety of sources.

The immigration of Mexicans into the U.S. during the 1940s and 1950s served to renew the patriarchal elements of Mexican socialization for women. The juxtaposition of "Mexican" and "Mexican American"

²⁴On the increasing urbanization of Chicanos, see Barrera, *Race and Class*, pp. 139-140.

women, (of newcomers versus offspring of earlier immigrants) is evidence of the gap created among Mexican women due to differential exposure to distinct socialization processes. Indeed, the political economy of Mexico, through the media for instance, perpetuated patriarchal views, idealized the division of labor, romanticized the double-standard, and ridiculed non-traditional feminine behavior as a form of cultural disloyalty.²⁵ In short, the development of Mexican capitalism included the espousal of Mexican patriarchy as a manifestation of Mexican nationalism. Hegemonic institutions in Mexico nourished the patriarchal elements of family socialization. Hence, new immigrants, in general, represented a "Mexican" presence in Chicano communities that enhanced the differences of Chicanas from their recently-arrived counterparts. In this incipient, subtle "competition," Chicanas found few allies among female newcomers. In fact, some Chicanas found that mothers, *abuelitas* and *tiyas* at times sided with the *recien llegados* in their criticism of the *agringado*, *agavachada*, *pocha* demeanor of second- and third-generation females.²⁶ As one woman put it: "I know that I have met people from Mexico that really don't consider me Mexican. I guess a *pocha* or whatever..." And, of course, still many, if not most, Mexican men, regardless of length of residence in the U.S., maintained patriarchal attitudes. Understandably, then, being "Mexican" for a Chicana often was equated with a near prison-like atmosphere. In this context, being "Americanized" appeared less restrictive, less encumbered, and therefore more attractive. Moreover, being "Mexican," speaking Spanish seemed to be an impediment to the acquisition of goods, status, or what some feminists call "female economism."²⁷

²⁵For an excellent introduction to the relations among popular culture, government, capital and hegemony, see Carlos Monsivais, "Notas sobre la cultura mexicana en el siglo xx," in *Historia General de Mexico*, vol. 4 (1976); especially pp. 448-450.

²⁶Interview, with Julia B. Velasquez, Fresno, California, April 21, 1980. Reported in Saragoza, "Patterns of Change and Continuity."

²⁷See Larguía and Dumoulin, "Science of Liberation," where they female economism as the "elaboration of a whole policy and ideology of selling, inseparable from the dominant values of the ruling class; it tends to emphasize the original division of labor and the sexual roles which emerged from the latter..." (p. 56). This observation confirms evidence found in Degler's *At Odds*: "it seemed that wives were working to finance less durable goods, like cars, refrigerators, and TVs, items that did not require the wife to continue to work indefinitely... their aim, apparently, was not to work for themselves, but for the family." (p. 432).

In this light, possibly, the relative high rates of intermarriage between Mexican women and Anglo men in Los Angeles after 1850 (as reported by Griswold del Castillo, 1979) reflected perhaps one solution sought by Mexican women given the circumstances at that time. More importantly, the growing tensions surrounding the conditions of Chicanas cited above in the 1940s and 1950s led perhaps for some of them to prefer, if only implicitly, non-Mexican men. Needless to say, this was conceivably predicated on the ability of Chicanas to make themselves "attractive" to non-Mexican men. (That is, not only in a sexual way, but more significantly, in exhibiting a more "American" deportment—looks, dress, and "acceptable" occupations, such as salesclerk instead of migrant farmworker). Whereas the combination of race and class restricted the possibilities of intermarriage in the early twentieth century, the increase of Chicanas into the workforce, especially after 1940, and the steady ascent of Chicanas into "better" jobs, made for more conducive opportunities for intermarriage as one (not the only one) vehicle to resolve the contradictions of competing forces of socialization.²⁸ In Los Angeles, by 1960 it was found that third-generation women demonstrated the highest rate of exogamy, and the "most exogamous are [were] women marrying high status men..." (Mittelbach and Moore, 1972: 122). Predictably, in light of the connection between class and intermarriage, women of lower status found it more difficult to marry outside its group. A revealing, suggestive factor was the importance of occupational status to out-marriage among third-generation Chicanos. Significantly the study by Mittelbach and Moore noted that:

the data indicate that marriage of second- and third-generation Mexican Americans are assimilationists. Both men and women are more likely to marry 'Anglos' than to marry immigrants from Mexico...the social distance between generations of Mexicans is greater than the social distance between some categories of Mexicans and Anglos. (Mittelbach and Moore, 1972: 121)

The incorporation of the Chicana into the consumer society fostered a differentiation from Mexican-held images of appropriate female behavior, yet the wider society's imperative of self-worth demanded her participation in "female economism." More so than men, Chicanas faced the contradictions of race, class and gender with deepening intensity. To a large extent,

²⁸ Note the differentiation by state of female occupations found in Barrera, *Race and Class*, pp. 133-136.

the impact of industrial capitalism on the Mexican family showed perhaps its harshest effect on women. In a recent interview, the conflict and ambivalence of women was captured in a statement pregnant with meanings too numerous to discuss here: "The man should be made to *feel* (her emphasis) like the boss, whether he really is or not."²⁹ Untold numbers of women of Mexican descent, regardless of length of residence in the U.S., would perhaps recognize the painful ironies of that statement.

Because of continuing immigration, many of the dynamics described above continued into the present era. In a recent visit to a community center, a Mexican woman here *only 18 months* told with a bewildered tone how her four year old daughter arrived from pre-school one day to ask her mother *not* to speak in Spanish anymore. It is crucial that we see this encounter not only in its cultural sense, but most importantly, as an economic one, as an indication of the hegemonic power of monopoly capital.

As this paper suggests, the history of the Chicano family must be anchored in the context of the development of American economy and its social repercussions. In this regard, capitalism led to a process of socialization in which the basic bond of parent-child was inevitably affected. As one student of the family argued:

The invasion of the family by industry, the mass media, and the agencies of socialized parenthood has subtly altered the quality of the parent-child connection. (Lasch, 1978: 170)

Indeed, like immigrants elsewhere, the Mexican family was perhaps more vulnerable given the presence of racism; cultural differences intensified the effects of industrial capitalism on the Mexican family. Over time, few Chicano families escaped the consequences of this powerful force.

Between the late nineteenth century and say about 1930, Chicano families were, in general terms, less subject to the pressures emanating from capitalist development in the U.S. Particularly apparent in agricultural areas, less so in urban ones and closely tied to the nature of employment and degree of segregation, the penetration of hegemonic institutions

²⁹Interview, Ann Valenzuela, December 11, 1981, Merced, California. For another view on male-female relations and the cultural question, see Maxine Baca Zinn, "Employment and Education of Mexican American Women: The Interplay of Modernity and Ethnicity in Eight Families," *Harvard Educational Review* 50 (February 1980):47-62.

into the Chicano community differed as a result of the variation among Mexican workers and their milieu. Equally important, the general economic development of the Southwest, where most Mexicanos resided, trailed the rest of the country, especially the highly industrialized East coast.

After World War II, however, the West's rapid economic growth accelerated the entry of Mexicanos into cities, into "better" jobs, and into the process of socialization dictated by a capitalist society. The critical link between parent and child, therefore, became less viable, more open to the debilitating effects of capitalist ideology. The differences between "urban" and "rural" Chicanos reflected to a large extent the variance in the ability of hegemonic influences to affect families: obviously the migrant farmworking family, by the nature of its work, was less vulnerable to the socializing powers of media, schools, and the like.

But even this difference by the 1960s was narrowing considerably. Nonetheless, the differentiation between South Texas and California, for instance, persisted due to the variation in the economic makeup and social context of the two areas.³⁰ Many Chicanos eventually faced the choice of whether or not to be like their parents. In a myriad ways, the choice was imposed on Chicano families in general, children in particular.

Capitalist values and institutions framed the choice. For to be like "them" implied the ability to acquire the material trappings of American society. The acquisition of the material ingredients of status and identity was facilitated by exchanging Spanish for English, *barrios* for suburbs, *las mananitas* for "happy birthday", *tacos* for hamburgers, Benito Juarez for Davy Crockett, and Las Hermanas Huerta for the Shirelles. Celebrated terms such as "cultural conflict," "identity crisis," "value-orientation differences," and "field-dependence/field independence," captured the tip of a cultural iceberg whose driving force was essentially economic. The cultural expressions of the incorporation of Mexicanos into the process of American socialization deflected the question of race and class into primordial cultural dichotomies—"gabacho culture" vs. "Chicano culture." Understandably, the Chicano movement's flirtation with romantic

³⁰Regional differences are important here despite the seeming similarity of census data, e.g., northern New Mexico as opposed to East L.A., Southern Texas versus East Chicago.

cultural nationalism was based partly on its tendency to accept a cultural explanation of the differences between "Anglos" and "Chicanos".³¹

The persistence and cumulative effects of racism and class oppression has produced a "segmented labor force," to use Mario Barrera's terms. But the pressures of conformity remain and penetrate the entire spectrum of the Chicano community. The class differentiation within the community shapes the response to those pressures. For some, the effort to ameliorate such pressures continues to be futile. An alienation expressed in the past by *pachucos* is manifested in the form of *cholos* and their variations today. For middle income families, the response predictably approximates the dominant forms of hegemony in clothes, tastes, demeanor.

These pressures, of course, also characterize Mexico, especially since the 1940s. Mexican immigration, from one viewpoint, represents an example of the gap between a developed and developing country. The cultural differences between recent Mexican immigrants and Chicanos testify to the distance that remains between the economies of Mexico and the U.S. in their development (Bustamante, 1977). More importantly, Mexican immigrants nourish a "Mexicanness" in Chicano communities. Indeed, in the same way that children were aware of their parents' "differentness" in the past, so Chicanos perceive the "differentness" of Mexican immigrants; a difference derived from the distinct processes of socialization in the two countries: a difference endowed with a mixture of embarrassment, confusion, and, at times, even longing.³²

The past does not augur well for the Chicano family. The problems faced by women perhaps best indicates the complexity of the dilemma. It appears that the majority of the Chicano community continues to perceive "the problem" in terms of reforming the abuses of capitalism. Worse, too many still perceive our dilemma on the basis of cultural differences between "Anglos" and "Chicanos." Moreover, the emphasis on race obscures its economic origins and its economic implications. The double bind of the Chicana illustrates the difficulty of finding easy answers. The first step

³¹Early on in the Chicano movement, there was a tendency to divide Chicanos and Anglos neatly into two culturally distinct worlds. For an example of this type of cultural nationalism, see Armando Rendon, "Chicano culture in a Gabacho World," in *Introduction to Chicano Studies* (1973):350-362.

³²Hence, the so-called "identity crisis" will continue. For an early formulation of this classic issue, see Manuel Ramirez, "Identity Crisis in the Barrios," in *Pain and Promise: The Chicano Today* (1972):57-60.

must be to regain control of our families and to resist the pressures of a hegemonic order willing to grant rewards, however limited, to its adherents. But, it seems, to borrow a cliché, that we have been losing the battle, if not the war.

In a recent visit to a Chicano friend and his family, music played in the background as we talked. At a certain point, an "oldie" remake was aired that immediately led one of his daughters (age 13) to switch to another station. I asked her why: "because it was cholo" was the reply. The silent pause that followed made us all feel uncomfortable, embarrassed at its meanings in the wake of a conversation laced with allusions to Chicanos, culture and "Anglos." Later that night, over tequila and the lyrics of Jose Alfredo Jimenez, we pondered the incident earlier that night. We vowed resistance against the "hegemonic order," as we attempted to ignore its strength and its presence in ourselves.

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Ongoing Questions in the Study of Chicano Families

Maxine Baca Zinn

This is a response to the papers presented by Alex Saragoza and Lea Ybarra. My intent is not to review all of the issues raised in these works, but to comment on their general directions and selected issues raised in the papers, to address pertinent family issues that are not analyzed by these authors, and to highlight focal concerns for future research in this area.

The papers approach the study of Chicano families from very different perspectives. Ybarra's intent is to provide an overview of scholarship in this area, and Saragoza's intent is to examine the history of the Chicano family itself within the broader context of capitalist development. Both papers, however, tend to focus on issues related to gender, to women's and men's family roles.

Ybarra provides an exhaustive critical review of the literature on family roles and family power. She classifies the literature into different phases of development, correctly pointing out that these phases are not

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mutually exclusive. Perhaps a typology of Chicano family literature based on analytical concerns needs to be added to the time periods in order to better capture the transformations occurring in the study of Chicano families. Ybarra does give us a typology, but it could be analytically refined by addressing further questions. What, for example, are the guiding assumptions, concepts, methodologies that characterize each type of literature? The paper could be further strengthened by tying the discussion into the larger context of social science research on families and minorities. Are there similar "phases" of research on minorities generally, on minority families in particular?

The great strength of Ybarra's paper is its comprehensive and critical thrust. The paper is a superbly organized review of the literature on family roles and family power among Chicanos.

Saragoza's paper is an examination of gender roles in Chicano families (especially women's roles) in the context of new historical and sociological scholarship on women in families. New conceptual developments in the family field are applied to an analysis of Chicano families in order to describe the effects of capitalist development and patriarchy. This is one of the first attempts to sort out the threads of capitalism and patriarchy, to integrate them, and to apply this analytic strategy to Chicanas. This strategy can significantly advance our thinking and understanding of Mexican women in this society.

I believe that the paper would be strengthened by naming this analysis, that is, by specific reference to and discussion of the concept "capitalist patriarchy". This concept is based on the complex interrelationship of two structures, capitalism and patriarchy, and their operation in "placing" women in subordinate positions, both in the political economy of the larger society, and in the micropolitical economy of the family. Capitalist patriarchy refers to the subordination of women by class relations of production and by sexual hierarchical relations of production (Eisenstein, 1979). Recent historical works on Chicanos have documented the extent to which Chicanas are subordinated by class relations of production (Camarillo, 1980; Barrera, 1979). Still, "patriarchy refers both to families that fathers dominate and large structures like the state that men regulate" (Stimpson, 1980). Saragoza begins to reach both arenas by exploring patriarchy in the class relations of production and patriarchy in Chicano families. Further work will reveal, I believe, that Chicanas have experienced a layering of patriarchal structures, one which is quite different from the

layering of patriarchy that is imposed on women in other social categories. Distinctive historical and sociocultural conditions have imposed different types of patriarchy upon Chicanas. Male dominated families and labor force subordination affect women in different ways. They have different origins, causes, and consequences. As a result they must be analyzed separately. In spite of this distinction, capitalist patriarchy in its broadest sense effects men as well as women and may even create distinctive forms male domination among Chicanos and other minorities (Baca Zinn, 1982).

As Saragoza anchors the history of the Chicano family in the context of American industrial development and monopoly capitalism, he finds that choices about family life for women and men, for parents and children in Chicano families are increasingly determined outside of the family. He correctly points to different pressures and controls imposed upon families. I agree that we need to understand the effect of capitalist hegemony on family life, but Saragoza's analysis at times appears mechanistic. He writes:

In short, American political economy increasingly exerted tremendous pressures of conformity that pervaded schooling, popular culture, advertising and the mass media. Few, including growing numbers of Mexicans escaped such pressures.

... for most Chicanos, the cumulative effects of race and class provided few resources to combat the social and cultural imperative of monopoly capital. Not surprisingly, cities witnessed the greatest extent of alienation among Chicano families, especially those that were second and third generation. (p. 124)

Few would disagree that families are deeply influenced by broad social and economic forces over which they have little control, yet specific sociohistorical conditions make it possible for people to adapt to those forces in different ways. The point that must be made is that Chicano families, like families in other social categories, don't respond mechanistically to capitalism, they adapt to it in different ways. Even Zaretsky, who argues that family life is determined by capitalist relations of production, also contends that the family however imperfectly, "retains an element of autonomy from capitalist social relations" (Quoted in Flax, 1982:236). A class analysis of family life needs to acknowledge and explore how the family serves as a source of resistance as well as an agent of socialization (Flax, 1982:236). As Humphries puts it, "the family does not merely respond to

capitalism, or worse yet, reflect capitalism, it also shelters working people from capitalist oppression—and the most neglected function of all—plays a crucial role in their struggle against capitalism and toward a better life" (1982:222). The family is not either a refuge or an institution determined by relations of production, it is both. Therefore, we must ask how Chicano families in different historical periods, in different socioeconomic contexts adapted differently to capitalism.

Saragoza's work is valuable because of its emphasis on how Chicano families are related to the larger world. It underscores the "close connection between the internal life of families and the organization of the state and other institutions" (Thorne, 1982:2). Current conceptualizations of capitalism and patriarchy are applied to examine the evolution of the Chicano family. Saragoza's paper represents one approach to the history of Chicano families. Its title is somewhat misleading since there are other approaches that might yield significant discoveries. One of the most important approaches to the historical study of the family revolves around the issues of household size and family structure. New family scholarship has challenged the popular view of preindustrial large extended families by documenting the consistency of household size since preindustrial times (Laslett and Wall, 1972). Questions about household size and family structure in relation to Chicano families are raised by Griswold del Castillo:

Is the popular view of the large extended family among Mexicanos prior to 1848 in the Southwest more a romantic ideal than a reality? After 1848 did the "traditional" Mexican family remain unchanged in terms of size and composition despite pressures for modernization? If large extended families did exist before 1848 at what point and for what reasons did they change to smaller nuclear units resembling Anglo American household? And most importantly what were the significance of these changes? (1981:3)

Another pertinent body of family literature suggests that despite the prevalence of nuclear household, kinship networks are important structural features of family life, and that they have significant socioeconomic functions among minorities and working class people. As far as Chicanos are concerned, kinship has long been treated as a defining characteristic of family life. A recent empirically based review of Chicano families by Ramirez and Arce concludes that the structure and function of Chicano

families is characterized by (a) strong persistent familistic orientation; (b) a widespread existence of highly integrated extended kinship systems even for Chicanos who are three or more generations removed from Mexico; and (c) the consistent preference of Chicanos for relying on the extended family for support as the primary means for coping with emotional stress.

Ongoing disclosures concerning the importance of kinship in contemporary society have made it necessary to make conceptual clarifications of families and household. Families are groups of persons bound by ties of kinship, while household are groups of persons bound to a place (Ball, 1972:229). The literature on Chicano families does contain such a distinction. Sena-Rivera (1979) proposed a *casa-familia* model which is different in structure from the European tri-generational household model. The model of the contemporary Chicano family is based on a distinction between the concepts "familia" and "casa". Familias can embrace all extended family kin and single or various combinations of individual households. Thus when speaking Spanish one is usually careful to make a distinction between a reference to extended family members or households at large (*familia* always) and a reference to a member of the immediate household (*la casa* "house" or "home") which is ordinarily a nuclear family centered dwelling (Sena-Rivera, 1979:123).

While the *casa-familia* model advanced by Sena-Rivera is a real breakthrough, there are problems with the way in which it is explained. *La familia* is posited as a modified extended or kin integrated family extending over time and space from Mexico at the turn of the century to present-day industrial American with antecedents traceable to pre-columbian periods. This raises a little recognized but crucial problem in the analysis of Chicano familism; that is, its treatment as a residual of traditional Mexican culture. Sena-Rivera's contention is that the form and structure of the Chicano extended family did not develop within American society, but rather were transferred from Mexico.

It makes better sense conceptually to ask questions about those structural conditions in contemporary American society that generate and sustain this alternative family form. Kinship networks are structural adaptations to deprivations in social, economic, legal, and political spheres of life (Rodman, 1977:46). According to anthropologist Rayna Rapp (1982) the entities within which people actually live are not families, but households. Households are the empirically measurable units within which people pool resources and perform certain tasks. They are units of production,

reproduction, and consumption. They are residential units within which persons and resources get distributed and connected. But given that not all people have the same access to resources in our society, many households contain people... "who live below socially necessary reproduction costs. They therefore reproduce themselves by spreading around the resources, and the networks within which resources are shared are family. In Rapp's words, those who are prevented from accumulating stable resources use their families to cement and patch tenuous relations for survival. Their family, then, is an invented network that makes next to nothing go a long way" (Rapp, 1982:179).

Recent research by Wagner and Shaffer (1980), Gilbert (1978) and Ramirez (1980) provide empirical support for the notion that kinship networks among Chicanos provide means of stretching and circulating limited resources.

Policy Implications

There is a potential danger in finding the resiliency of Chicano families and their ability to provide for the needs of the people. That danger lies in the possibility of deflecting attention from the pervasive day-to-day economic deprivation of Chicano people. As the strong families and kinship networks of support are revealed, it is possible that policy makers will ignore the stresses and pressures put on families. While our survival as a people has been made possible by the strength of our families, we Chicano scholars must not, nor should we allow other scholars or policy makers, to romanticize the supportive family structure. There is comfort in knowing that kinship structures are significant adaptations to societal deprivation and capitalist control, but Chicanos pay a high price for having to pool their meager resources.

Similarly, we need to resist equating patriarchy among Chicanos with a good strong family. There is a growing tendency to do this, to associate tradition with strength, and to uphold a traditional patriarchal Chicano family as the model for a renewed commitment to family strength.

We face the challenge of uncovering the many contradictory pressures impinging upon Chicano families. We face the challenge of analyzing both those systems of social inequality within which family life takes place, and those adaptations Chicanos must make in order to survive.

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PART III

**Chicano Domestic
and International Migration**

**Residential Distribution and
Internal Migration Patterns of Chicanos:
A Critical Assessment**

Marta Tienda

For so long Chicanos have been regarded as a regional minority, but this view no longer accurately portrays their involvement in U.S. society. Formerly a largely rural population dispersed throughout the agricultural areas of the Southwest (Broadbent, 1941; Jaffe, et al., 1980; Hernandez, 1966), during the post World War II era Chicanos have become a national minority (Durant and Knowlton, 1978). While much of the credit for this growing national visibility of the Mexican origin population is due to the social movements of the sixties that called attention to the plight of this neglected minority, the spatial movement of the population, particularly during the last two to three decades, also has contributed to a heightened awareness of Mexican Americans.

Today Chicanos are a predominantly urban population, one which is more geographically dispersed than at any previous time in its history.

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Because this pattern of urban concentration and greater regional dispersion more than likely will continue into the future, it is important to understand the social, political and economic ramifications of these changed demographic configurations. Equally significant in its consequences, if not immediately visible, is the intra-regional redistribution of Mexican Americans among the southwestern states during the past several decades. With few exceptions, social scientists who have taken an interest in the migratory patterns of Chicanos have become most preoccupied with the inter-regional shifts from the Southwest to the Midwest, leaving the study of intra-regional population shifts largely unexplored.

If the extent and pace of Chicanos' geographic movement over the past three decades is impressive, the scholarly writing on this topic is not, either for its quality or quantity. This is unfortunate because the analysis of geographic mobility is pertinent for addressing questions about changing economic opportunities and patterns of social integration, and for indicating how inter- and intra-ethnic relations may have been influenced by changing residential configurations. Several authors have prepared descriptive studies of the changing residential configuration of the Mexican origin population (Boswell, 1979; Jaffe, et al., 1980: Chapter 6; Boswell and Jones, 1979), but virtually none of these broad-brush characterizations provide informed interpretations of the social significance of these demographic processes. Thus, one reason for preparing a critical review of the literature about the residential distribution and internal migration patterns of Chicanos is to pull together and organize the findings of several empirical and descriptive studies into a coherent framework. Not only is a periodic review and cataloguing of research findings useful for reaffirming what is known about these processes, but it can also serve to indicate new directions for further research by emphasizing the sociological interpretation of these fundamentally demographic processes. Some suggestive examples illustrate my point.

While the connection between geographic mobility and social mobility (to be discussed in a subsequent section) has long interested students of social stratification, the literature about the migration patterns of the Mexican origin population provides only a general sense about how the social position of Chicanos as a group was improved by the massive geographic movements that permitted some to take advantage of new opportunities. Comparisons of migrants and nonmigrants confirm what common sense would indicate, namely that those who move tend to improve their individual economic circumstances. But it is not clear whether the relative

standing of the Chicano population as a whole was actually improved by the secular changes in residence patterns, or whether the observed aggregate improvements in the social and economic standing of Chicanos are simply a positive by-product of their collective responses to the changing needs of a capitalist economic system. This is a difficult question, but one that deserves a good deal of attention because of its far-reaching implications for the continued economic advances of this minority group.

It would be unfair to imply that no one has attempted to relate the social characteristics of the Mexican origin population to their sustaining spatial arrangements. For example, working toward an operational definition of Mexican Americans, Peñalosa (1970) noted that rural Chicanos have less differentiated class structures than their urban counterparts, and that intra-regional variations in their socioeconomic characteristics were considerable. Taeuber (1966) claimed that the pronounced concentration of Chicanos in the Southwest is significant because it hampered their prospects for long term social and economic mobility. Both statements are generally correct, yet neither provides precise clues about how differences in rural and urban social structures explain these outcomes. Acknowledging that the process of internal migration played a major role in the social and economic differentiation of the Chicano population says nothing about the underlying mechanisms, nor how different patterns of social movement depend on the social arrangements in the communities of destination.

Most of what is known about the internal migration patterns of Chicanos is based on an accounting of changes in residential distributions, or the in-depth study of movements between specific localities. Based as they are on the characteristics of aggregates, studies of changing residential distributions do not permit making causal inferences about how social structure influences individual or groups outcomes.¹ To be sure, the appropriateness of a research design can only be judged according to the nature of the questions asked. There are occasions when the study of internal

¹Making such inferences risks committing the ecological fallacy, as Boswell (1975) does in concluding that ethnic competition between Chicanos and blacks influenced the distribution of the Mexican stock population from 1910 to 1970. Although there may be some element of truth in this statement, this inference is not justified from his analysis based on state level data in which the evidence about ethnic competition is derived from the regression coefficients of two indicators of the proportion of blacks and Chicanos in specific states. Not heeding his own caution about the danger of committing the ecological fallacy, Boswell interprets his results as providing evidence about how changing social and economic arrangements alter assimilation processes and migration patterns.

migration calls for aggregate measures, and others when micro-level data is warranted. Some questions clearly call for data at more than one level of aggregation. A brief overview of macro and micro concerns in the study of migration will serve to organize the critical review of selected empirical studies about Chicano's internal migration patterns.

My general purpose is to suggest new research directions through a critical review of existing studies about Chicanos' internal migration and residential distribution patterns. This overview of the state of the art is not exhaustive, but it provides a fair summary of the main currents of thought and types of preoccupations that dominated the writings of early and contemporary scholars. To accomplish this two-pronged goal of surveying the existing literature about the causes and consequences of Chicanos' geographic movement and looking ahead to future research issues, in section two I describe the contemporary residential configuration of the Mexican origin population and trace its historical evolution in terms of its regional and rural-urban dimensions. This discussion emphasizes increasing diversity among Chicanos and attempts to relate this growing differentiation to geographic dispersion and changed settlement patterns.

A discussion of perspectives and approaches to study population movement, particularly those emphasizing wage labor flows, follows the demographic overview. Here I raise methodological as well as theoretical and substantive issues in anticipation of the critical review of existing studies (Section 4) and suggestions for further research (Section 5) that follow. Topics discussed in the third section include (1) appropriate units for studying migration (i.e., net migration rates; migrant flows; individual migrants; sending and receiving communities; or local labor markets); (2) methods to study migration as a process rather than an event; (3) theoretical perspectives currently used to explain why people migrate and where they settle; and (4) approaches for relating individual migration decisions to the situational contexts in which they arise. These ideas will be elaborated in the final section which emphasizes new research directions for this relatively neglected field.

Geographic Considerations:

Regional and Rural-Urban Configurations

Historically the Mexican origin population has been concentrated in the Southwestern United States, particularly in the two largest states of Texas and California where three out of four Chicanos lived in 1970 (Tienda,

1981; Jaffe, et al., 1980). For several decades prior to 1950 close to 90 percent of all Chicanos resided in the Southwest, but since that time this proportion (if not absolute number) has declined due to the gradual settlement of many migrant farmworkers in the industrial cities of the Midwest, and to a much lesser extent, the Pacific Northwest. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (PC(2)-1C, Table 1), 87 percent of the Mexican origin population resided in the Southwest in 1970, but estimates for the latter 70s based on the *Current Population Survey* (CPR, P-20 Series, No. 290 and No. 329, Table 1) are lower, ranging from 82 to 85 percent. It is unlikely that the 1980 census results will show any more than 20 percent of all Chicanos residing outside of the Southwest, thus regional concentration will continue to distinguish the Chicano population for some time to come.

However, this general pattern masks the important changes in the distribution of the Mexican origin population that have taken place within the Southwest, largely in response to changing economic opportunities. Jaffe and his associates (1980) point out that in 1850 almost half of the Mexican-born population resided in California compared to one-third of the total in Texas. This partly resulted from the migration of thousands of Mexican miners from Sonora during the California gold rush. During the next 40 years the proportion of the Mexican stock population residing in California declined drastically, while Texas increased its share of the total. Consequently, by 1900 approximately one-tenth of the Mexican born population living in the United States resided in California, compared to two-thirds of the total residing in Texas. Again, this rather significant residential shift corresponds quite closely to changes in economic activities in Texas, particularly the rise of the cattle industry and the expansion of cotton farming. Apparently these changes in economic opportunities were sufficient to produce sizeable influences on the internal redistribution of the Mexican origin population during this period of moderate population growth (Jaffe, et al., 1980).

Since 1910 the Census Bureau has reported data on native-born persons of Mexican origin as well as the foreign stock, but the items used to identify this group have varied considerably (see Boswell, 1979; Jaffe, et al., 1980; Tienda, 1981; Estrada et al., 1977). Obviously this poses serious problems for conducting time trend analyses. Nevertheless, geographer Thomas D. Boswell (1979) used available census data to outline the temporal shifts in the growth and proportional distribution of the Mexican-born population from 1910 to 1970, designating three general intercensal

periods to summarize the major changes. For the first period, 1910 to 1920, he reports that the Mexican-origin population grew rapidly due largely to immigration, and that there was relatively little proportional redistribution among the states. The minimal residential shifts that did occur involved moves out of Texas, New Mexico and Arizona and into California and several midwestern states. Most individuals who moved to the Midwest headed to the large urban centers, although this was less true of residential changes within the Southwest. Thus, the pattern of spatial concentration in the Southwest coupled with more limited geographic dispersal toward the Northeast began early in the history of Chicanos (Broadbent, 1941; Hernandez, 1966), and has persisted to the present day, albeit in different proportions and under changed circumstances.

Uneven growth characterized the period from 1920 to 1940, as the Mexican-origin population increased significantly during the twenties. The twenties brought a substantial internal redistribution of the Chicano population, and California once again increased its share of the total Mexican-origin population while Texas and Colorado experienced relative declines. The number of Chicanos in the U.S. subsequently declined during the depression of the thirties, due largely to the massive repatriations and the limited economic opportunities in the U.S. In contrast to the twenties the residential distribution of Chicanos did not change during the thirties. Apparently the decline of the Mexican origin population during the depression years was evenly proportioned among the states. For the most recent period, 1940 to 1970, Boswell's data shows an impressive amount of demographic growth and a moderate amount of intra-regional redistribution of Mexican-origin persons. The relative share of Chicanos residing in Arizona and New Mexico declined gradually during this period, particularly since the 1950s, while the share of Chicanos residing in Texas, Colorado and California have increased slightly, or remained stable (Tienda, 1981).

A second distinctive residential characteristic of the contemporary Mexican-origin population is its concentration in metropolitan centers. This feature became more pronounced after the Second World War, as both the native and foreign born participated in an extensive rural-urban migratory process. In 1910, when the majority of the Mexican American population was rather uniformly distributed throughout the agricultural zones of the Southwest, only four cities—San Antonio, Laredo, El Paso and Los Angeles—had more than 5,000 Mexicans each. Of these, only in El Paso did the number of Mexicans exceed 10,000 (Broadbent, 1941). Seasonal rurality

and seasonal labor migration characterized the decade of the twenties. Chicanos were clearly identifiable as a rural population.

Broadbent identified two significant changes in Mexican settlement patterns during the twenties which set in motion the processes that began to erode the rural character of the Mexican-origin population. First, one segment of the population began to combine part-time rural residence with part-time residence in or near urban centers. Second, the rather even distribution of the permanent rural population took on a form of clustered rurality, one which favored the permanent as compared to seasonal incorporation of later immigrants. By the thirties, the transition from scattered to concentrated rurality was well underway, and greater numbers of Chicanos clustered near some of the larger urban centers, and in the center of specialized crop agricultural areas that required large volumes of labor during peak harvest season. Obviously, all of these residential changes were directly linked to economic conditions within the Southwest and the associated labor demands. More importantly, they contributed greatly to the differentiation of the Chicano population over time.

The movement of Chicanos from rural to urban and metropolitan areas which was begun during the twenties gained momentum after World War II and has continued through the present decade. A comparison with the total U.S. population can help appreciate the magnitude and pace of this urbanization process. As late as 1930, Chicanos were much less likely to live in urban areas than was true of the total U.S. population. By 1950 approximately two-thirds of the Spanish surnamed population of the Southwest resided in urban areas, but this proportion was still lower than that of the Anglo population (Beegle, et al., 1960). However, nearly 80 percent of all Chicanos living in the Southwest were urban dwellers in 1960, and with the continuing shift out of rural areas through the sixties, in 1970 only 15 percent of Chicanos in the Southwest also lived outside urban areas (Tienda, 1981:Table 1). In contrast, slightly less than 75 percent of the total U.S. population resided in urban areas in 1970, due to the relatively more rapid increases in the extent of urbanization among Chicanos. Whereas one in four Mexican Americans lived in cities of one million or more in 1970, less than one in five did for the total U.S. population (Jaffe, et al., 1970).

Of course, the rural-urban distribution of Chicanos varies considerably among states. Whereas virtually all Mexican Americans residing outside of the Southwest live in metropolitan areas, within the Southwest, New Mexico Chicanos are least likely to be urban dwellers while California's

Chicanos are most highly urbanized. Results of the 1980 census will likely show further growth in the Chicano urban population, an outcome presaged by the intercensal Current Population Surveys which indicate an increasing tendency of Mexican Americans to reside in metropolitan centers.

Much has been written about the structural changes that explain this massive residential redistribution of the Chicano population, but among the key forces of change are: (1) the fluctuating demand for farm labor due to the rapid mechanization of agriculture (Moore, 1970); (2) the breakdown of the village communities in New Mexico and Colorado due to the loss of land from the establishment of national forests, railroad grants, and the provisions of the Homestead Act (Knowlton, 1961); and (3) the labor recruitment patterns of adult Mexican workers who were used as reserve workers in industry and seasonal agricultural crops during peak seasons (Durant and Knowlton, 1978).

The concentration of Chicanos in large metropolitan areas resulted mostly from the sustained rural-urban migration process (Peñalosa, 1970), but the growing tendency for recent immigrants to settle in large urban centers rather than the rural areas also contributed to the rapid urbanization process during the last four decades. Hernandez (1966) claims that those immigrants who arrived before 1900 were much more likely to settle in rural areas compared to those arriving after 1930, when the participation of the foreign-born in the urbanization process began to accelerate. How much immigration flows directed to cities contributed to the overall urban growth rate, and how much resulted from changing migration rates of the native and foreign-born is not clear because there have been no comprehensive analyses of the internal migration patterns of either the native or foreign-born Mexican-origin population. This is unfortunate as Corwin (1973) and Hernandez (1966) suspect that the settlement patterns of the native and foreign-born Mexicans have changed over time. These differing settlement patterns may themselves provide insights about whether Chicanos and Mexicans compete with each other as they strive to advance in loose labor markets (Corwin, 1973).

The social significance of the residential distribution of Chicanos resides in the linkages with the processes of stratification that accompany the transition from a largely rural to a largely urban population. This means that the residential distribution of the Chicano population—both from the regional and size-density perspective—can be best appreciated by causally relating the spatial configuration to the altered social structural arrangements that set in motion the demographic processes.

Approaches to the Study of Chicano Internal Migration

The dominant concern in the study of population redistribution has been the geographic mobility of labor as a mechanism which generally enhances the economic and social well being of migrants, and simultaneously adjusts inequities in factor endowments that arise from inter-spatial changes in production structures (Myers, 1974). Economists usually emphasize the responsiveness of labor to altered market conditions while sociologists stress linkages between geographic mobility and social mobility. Both disciplines view migration as an adjustment mechanism that permits economic and social structures to operate efficiently, although the extent to which any particular researcher adheres to a functionalist orientation varies considerably.

Studies of migration can be catalogued according to many criteria, including particular substantive foci and disciplinary orientations, but the two most general criteria for sorting migration studies are (1) the level of aggregation of the analysis, and (2) the type of migration being studied, i.e., seasonal migration; cyclical migration; stage migration; or permanent resettlement. The former element is essential for defining appropriate units of analysis, while the latter delimits the frame of reference for identifying particular types of migrants and migratory flows, and for addressing issues unique to each.

Specific research questions obviously determine whether micro or macro analytic strategies should be pursued. Micro-oriented strategies use individuals as analytic units, whereas macro-oriented studies focus either on the migration flow, or on the structural entities into which migrants incorporate themselves, such as communities, labor market sectors, or residential settlements (such as the *barrio*). Both approaches are useful, and both generate complementary information about population movements and their associated consequences for origin and destination communities, as well as for the individual migrants. However, when used exclusive of one another, macro and micro-oriented approaches can lead to shortsighted conclusions about the social significance of patterned population movements and their underlying causal forces.

Researchers operating from a microanalytic tradition have been most concerned with the economic motivations and consequences of migrating, although sociologists pride themselves for considering broader dimensions of the migrant integration experience. This general preoccupation

with economic factors is not inappropriate because migrants usually identify economic factors—mainly employment—as the major considerations in deciding whether to move. Focused as it is on individuals, the micro perspective assumes that the decision to move is totally within their calculus, and that there are no structural impediments to undertaking migration. In deciding whether to migrate and where to locate, prospective migrants weigh the costs and expected returns. If the expected returns of migration exceed the costs, migration ensues. Abstractly, this makes sense, but practically it is difficult to envision the process.

Most individual-oriented analyses ignore completely the importance of structural social arrangements in shaping migratory flows. Consequently, microeconomic analyses of migration behavior have been faulted for their inability to explain why similarly situated persons differ in their propensity to move, and why some groups continue to migrate under what would appear to be irrational conditions (Findley, 1980). Sociologists have suggested ways that noneconomic factors, such as kinship ties or residential preferences, influence migration decisions, but neither sociologists nor economists agree as to which noneconomic factors are most important, and how they shape the volume and direction of migratory flows under varied social conditions. Furthermore, most studies of individual migrants are flawed by a serious selection bias because they are based on a subset of all potential migrants. That is, by not evaluating the decision to migrate in terms of those who opted not to move, researchers cannot establish whether, in fact, the costs of moving are lower than the benefits of migrating. A few researchers avoided this problem (Price, 1971), but there exist few good studies about the magnitude of sample selection bias based on samples restricted to actual migrants. None exist for Chicanos.

These reservations notwithstanding, micro-level studies of migrant incorporation processes are extremely valuable for identifying how migrants' social and economic characteristics select a subset of movers from the pool of potential movers, and to determine their successful reincorporation in another community. However, persisting differences in the rate at which individual migrants are absorbed into particular communities requires consideration of how the characteristics of localities operate to attract migrants and to confer differential advantages to those who move. Quasi-descriptive portrayals of the social, economic and demographic characteristics of communities with substantial concentrations of Mexican Americans (Boswell and Jones, 1979), or studies which identify and quantify an array of "push"

and "pull" factors that guide migratory flows (Jenkins, 1977) fail to provide the necessary insights because they often confuse cause and effect by focusing on the end-states or outcomes of migration processes, and they ignore completely the impact of individual decision-making in shaping spatial redistribution processes.

Researchers who analyze cross-sectional survey or census-type data, have a tendency to approach migration as an *event*, rather than a *process* which continues over time and which acquires different characteristics, depending on the form it takes over time and space. The failure to make this distinction is especially common among the studies about migrant adaptation experiences that focus on a measurable set of outcomes at a given point in time—usually the date of the interview. Most efforts to monitor the influence of time consist of statistical controls for length of residence in a particular community, but this procedure does not itself ensure a proper distinction between the processual aspects of spatial movements, and the event of moving.

One way of representing this complexity is by distinguishing among types of flows in terms of their permanency, direction and spatial dimensions. Temporary and permanent migrants do not similarly experience a process of geographic movement nor do both types of migrants impact their respective sending and receiving communities in the same way. Adjustment experiences of short distance movers are probably easier than those of long distance movers, as are those of migrants from similar origin and destination communities compared to those of dissimilar backgrounds. For one-time movers who decide to settle permanently in a particular community, migration perhaps can be studied as an event whose consequences will be experienced for the remainder of the migrant's life cycle. In such instances the basic research question is how the individual trajectory of life cycle experiences would differ had migration not occurred. But the evidence indicates that most Mexican Americans who have ever migrated have undertaken more than a single move destined for permanent resettlement (Romo, 1977; Scheff, 1966; Form and Rivera, 1958; Samora and Larson, 1961). Even if migration can be properly regarded as an event for some purposes, its consequences are necessarily part of an ongoing process. As such, it behooves researchers always to specify an adequate time frame for evaluating specific outcomes, rather than allowing this to be governed by the date of an interview.

Aggregate approaches which treat the flow of migrants as a unit of analysis usually fail to adequately differentiate migratory events from

their sustaining social processes, particularly when the flows in question are cyclical, as for instance, the movement of farmworkers who follow crop-cycles over large areas of the United States (Slesinger and Murriagui, 1982), or relocation which is conducted in stages, either as a chain of moves involving diverse families from a single community, or a gradual back and forth movement of members of a given family (Samora and Larson, 1961; Scheff, 1966; Tienda, 1980). Taking into account the complexity of migratory patterns and resettlement processes is particularly important for Chicanos who, because of their historical position in the U.S. class structure, have undertaken geographic moves as a means to improve their social position.

To be sure, changes in the social relations of production have decidedly influenced the internal (and international) migration patterns of the Mexican-origin population. However, the tendency in the literature to portray Chicano migrants as the victims of macro-structural changes over which they have little or no say is somewhat inaccurate. Changes in economic production certainly influence who moves and where, but unless potential migrants actually respond to altered labor demands by moving, there will exist discrepancies between the needs and resources available to a market. My point is that migrants should not be viewed as passive agents of social change who only adapt to exogenous stimuli. Instead, individuals who undertake geographic moves, especially those engaging in long distance moves to places quite different from their source communities, should be viewed as risk-taking entrepreneurs whose decision to migrate represents a rational strategy to build better lives for themselves and their families (Tienda, 1982; Findley, 1980; Wells, 1976).

This view is not totally incompatible with the micro-economic specification of migration behavior (Mincer, 1978; Todaro, 1980), except in one critically important respect—the recognition that individual migration decisions are *only partly* determined by an evaluation of economic opportunities in sending and receiving communities (Findley, 1980). Accordingly, at least two important elements which do not concern researchers working within the micro-economic tradition must be explored. The first is determining precisely how changes in structural arrangements in origin communities govern individual decisions to migrate (everyone, not just migrants have a probability of migrating). Structural arrangements include not only production systems, but also social support networks that furnish emotional as well as back-up economic support to residents. The latter is important

because it can substantially raise the opportunity costs of migrating (Wells, 1976) and actually deter migration. Mediating factors, such as information flows about alternative work opportunities which operate either through formal or informal recruitment channels (Marks, 1981) should also be included in conceptual and empirical models of migration decision-making.

A second consideration which is typically absent from micro-level studies of migration, especially but not exclusively those conducted from an economic perspective, is an account of how reception factors in destination communities influence migrants' social integration processes. Unfortunately, far too many migration studies assume that the structures to which individuals must adapt are fixed, or that they are beyond the possibility of empirical investigation (see critique in Portes, 1979; Tienda, 1982). They are not, of course, and, in fact, opportunities are always changing *both* in source and destination communities. But to acknowledge that reception factors are instrumental in governing the incorporation experiences of individual migrants says nothing about how they operate, or how they may evolve over time. Some insights on this matter have been provided by Año Nuevo de Kerr's (1975) study about the establishment and evolution of three Chicano migrant neighborhoods (barrios) in Chicago. Not only does her historical description reveal important insights about how seemingly subtle differences among neighborhoods—like parish organization—influence the succession patterns of the settlements, but it is instructive about how inter- and intra-group relations are associated with settlement patterns. After all, these are important dimensions of social structure which transcend individual experiences to a degree because they refer to the aggregation of individual outcomes at a specific historical juncture. Still, individuals who participated in this social process were affected by the nature and direction of social interaction patterns.

The general message to be drawn from this discussion is that the tendency to analyze individual migration decisions largely independent of the social context in which they emerge, including the micro (household) and macro-level (neighborhood, community) dimensions of social context, students of internal migration produce distorted stories about the circumstances leading to the intra- and interregional mobility of the Mexican American population. Some studies have attempted to consider *both* individual and "structural" factors in the study of migration processes (Wells, 1976), but the discussion of "structural" or situational factors is often left to a discursive narrative, while the empirical analyses are generally based

on individual responses to social surveys. In a way, this strategy also avoids linking both levels of analysis in a truly causal analysis. Conducting empirical analyses using data from more than one level of aggregation would be more fruitful, especially if households are used as the basic unit of analysis. Although each household member has a migratory probability which depends on other household members (and, depending on the nature of extant social networks, possibly other members of a community), individual migration decisions depend *both* on changes in structural circumstances which define a range of options for earning a livelihood, and the nonmarket resources to which households can avail themselves for meeting their members' needs (Wood, 1981; 1982). The final section of this essay provides more concrete advice about how to utilize this information in forging new directions in migration research about Chicanos. To do this I must first provide a critical review of existing studies that will expose gaps in the research literature, and help establish priorities for a more complete research agenda.

Empirical Research on Chicano Internal Migration

Despite the dramatic growth in the number of studies about the Mexican American population during the past two decades, relatively few are about the internal migration patterns and resettlement experiences of Chicanos. Nevertheless, the research outputs seem to have outdistanced the organization of specific findings into a coherent framework which permits drawing broad generalizations. This section reviews several studies produced over the past two decades dealing with the causes and consequences of Chicano internal migration. In light of the issues discussed previously, this review is organized according to the level of analysis (micro versus macro approaches), and specific substantive concerns of the research. For example, studies considered under the macro perspective include those about types of flows and the social ecology of settlement patterns. Investigations utilizing a micro approach are mostly about the relationship between social mobility and geographic mobility, with a special emphasis on the adaptation experiences of Chicano migrants in urban communities. A few also investigate the psychological dimensions of the migration experience in terms of the stress associated with relocation and/or the motivations for undertaking a move. Only Wells (1976) attempted to deal with the interface between macro and micro subsystems, although she based her empirical analysis on individual-level survey data, only considering structural factors in the general discussion. Still, this study illustrates the value of multi-level analysis for interpreting migration decisions in terms of the specific circumstances where they emerged.

Macro Perspectives

Investigations conducted from a macro-analytic perspective include those that describe (1) the attributes of distributions (already summarized in the first section); (2) the attributes of aggregate flows; and (3) the social ecology of settlement patterns. Studies about flows and socioeconomic characterizations of broad geographic areas are least informative about the causes and consequences of the internal migration patterns of Chicanos.

In their review of the rise and decline of migrant farmworkers in the United States since 1900, Slesinger and Murriagui (1982) identified three major travel routes taken in search of agricultural employment, generally identified as the East Coast Stream, the Midcontinent Stream and the West Coast Stream. Mexican American farmworkers predominated only in the latter two. Although Slesinger and Murriagui do not discuss specifically the implications of these migration streams for the changes in the residential distribution of the Mexican origin population over the past several decades, they do link the growth of Chicano communities in Wisconsin to the historical changes in the demand and utilization of seasonal migrant farmworkers in the state's agriculture.

Several other studies related the ebb and flow of migratory labor in the U.S. to the establishment of Chicano communities in those midwestern states that relied on migrant labor, but most of these are case studies based on single community surveys, and published analyses are conducted mainly from a microanalytic perspective.² Taken as a group, however, they provide a basis for generalizing about fundamentally similar processes, and for substantiating the conclusion that the cyclical movement of Chicano agricultural workers along the Midcontinent and West Coast Streams was one of the most decisive factors propelling the internal redistribution of the Mexican origin population from Texas and California, respectively, to the midwestern and Pacific northwestern states.

Flows of migratory farmworkers are circular, governed by seasonal crop cycles, and scattered evidence about the tendency of many families

²In additional studies about Wisconsin, see Scheff, 1966; Wells, 1976; Shannon and Krass, 1963; 1964; Shannon and Morgan, 1966. For Ohio, see Perry and Snyder, 1970; 1971. For Washington, see Gecas, 1973. For a study in Michigan, see Choldin and Trout, 1969. For a study in Indiana, see Fought, 1976. Only the work of Choldin and Trout is not based on a single community survey, but tried to characterize the impact of migrant resettling processes on various Michigan communities.

returning to work for the same growers for several years (Wells, 1976; Slesinger and Murriagui, 1982). There is also evidence, albeit sparse, that some Chicano migrants eventually return to their communities of origin in Mexico (Form and Rivera, 1958) or in the U.S. (Scheff, 1966). This is done either permanently, or temporarily as a way of adjusting to their new urban environment. Although we know relatively little about the prevalence of such patterns, Scheff (1966) claims circular migration results from situations where members of the rural labor force—who are mainly interested in accumulating money—intentionally returning to their communities of origin after achieving their income goals, or from situations where adjustments required to function in midwestern industrial communities are facilitated by a gradual settlement process involving several periods of temporary residence. Both of these explanations are partly conjectural on his part, although they seem plausible.

In their study of rural-urban migrants from El Cerrito, New Mexico to Pueblo, Colorado, Samora and Larson (1961) discuss chain sequence migration. This case study illustrates the ability of migrant families to maintain selected traditions by keeping in touch with members of their origin communities over a period of time while they are adjusting to their urban environments, and to gradually accept change as appropriate. This single study tells us little about how much of the internal movement of Chicanos has been of a chain migration type, or how much this may have varied over time.

One clue for answering this question is to determine the extent to which Chicano migrants from common origin communities cluster within a relatively limited, geographical space, thereby forming ethnic enclaves. From a macro demographic perspective, such linkages between origin and destination communities furnish insights about the possible directions and volume of future migratory flows, depending on the nature of changes in the origin and destination communities, as well as the mechanisms for transferring the social resources needed for functioning in a new setting. Año Nuevo de Kerr (1975) provides some knowledge along these lines in her study of Chicano settlements in Chicago, but her evidence about the characteristics of migrant flows is indirect. So is that of Samora and Larson (1961) because both studies are based on data about settlement patterns rather than the volume of migrant inflows and outflows. Consequently, we still know little about the characteristics of flows, except in general terms. We know which flows of Chicano migrants are diminishing, but much less about which ones

are emerging and whether there has been any change in the composition of the flows themselves (i.e., relative participation of foreign-born workers, return migrants, etc.). Because there have not been many studies about the differential impacts of flows on receiving communities, a comparative frame of reference for evaluating aggregate outcomes cannot be developed. These oversights are serious because such information necessarily provides the foundations needed to evaluate individual experiences.

Two studies (Cuellar, 1971; Boswell and Jones, 1979) attempted to delineate an ecological taxonomy of the residential distribution of Chicanos by characterizing areas containing substantial numbers of Mexican Americans in terms of their social, economic and demographic characteristics. Both studies deal with the areal units rather than with individual Chicano residents. Cuellar's contribution is identifying and justifying variables needed to properly characterize community structure, and acknowledging that the Chicano experience in any environment partly depends on the attributes of their communities. He does not, however, conduct an empirical analysis to verify his claims, nor does he formulate specific hypotheses to guide the research of others.

Using county groups and subareas as the unit of analysis, Boswell and Jones (1979) computed a factor analysis on 11 aggregate characteristics of places where Chicanos resided in 1979. This computation produced four factors representing the following dimensions: high interstate in-migration rates; high socioeconomic status; high immigration rates (from Mexico); and high fertility levels. Following through the first phase of their analysis, they computed a linkage tree analysis on 6 of the 11 variables used for the original factorial ecology exercise, thereby ensuring that key variables representing each of the four factor dimensions had been included. On this basis they classified all subareas or county groups included in the analysis into seven semi-homogeneous types of areas designated by the linkage tree analysis. Their results generated a typology that illustrates the diversity of Chicano settlements, and they provide examples of places containing elements of more than one of the seven classes of areas.

Such efforts in the construction of spatial typologies are valuable for arranging and synthesizing numerous place characteristics, and for illustrating how real attributes of the Mexican American population are organized in space. For example, this broad delineation of Chicano settlements helps locate subareas that are heavily impacted by migration flows. However, such information says nothing about how individual migrants and their

source communities fit into the general typology. Furthermore, because the study is based on a single cross-sectional data set, there is no basis for making inferences about how migration flows have changed, thereby altering the residential configuration of Chicanos between two points in time. Simply recomputing the same analysis in 1980, as Boswell and Jones apparently plan to do, will not resolve this problem. Instead, it will generate yet another set of mechanically generated results for others to interpret.

An additional problem requiring further investigation is the matter of whether the internal flows of native-born Mexicans are similar to or different from those of foreign-born Mexicans. Boswell and Jones' (1979) factor analysis shows that these two demographic indicators load on different dimensions, although this finding does not by itself imply residential segregation between native and immigrant Mexicans. This result could be an artifact of socioeconomic and demographic differences between communities that have a high proportion of newly arrived immigrants and those that do not, but a factor analysis cannot be used for deciding whether this is the case. Li (1981) claims that immigrants have high internal migration rates, a circumstance which could confound the results of Boswell and Jones. It is not clear whether the internal migration indicator they used referred to Mexican-origin migrants, and whether it is a purer measure, that is net of the effect of the in-migration of foreign-born Mexicans. Thus, while factorial ecology studies can produce valuable information by summarizing social and economic conditions prevailing in various parts of the U.S., they are clearly limited in their utility for making inferences about the processes of internal migration which contribute to the diversity of settlement patterns.

Año Nuevo de Kerr (1975) discusses in more qualitative and informative terms the implications of the social and economic opportunities depicted by analyses of aggregate data. Not only does she describe the evolution of three separate Chicano neighborhoods in Chicago from 1930 to 1970, but she also documents how the three neighborhoods differed in their social composition and economic characteristics over time. Like other ethnic groups in Chicago, Chicanos formed their own mutual aid societies, political and recreational clubs and labor unions, but these social organizations and religious affiliations primarily developed along neighborhood lines, rather than as unified ethnic organizations serving all Chicanos. Much of the community activities of Chicanos took place in the settlement houses organized to serve each neighborhood, and these organizations substantially

influenced the mode of incorporation of new migrants. The result was that Chicano settlement experiences depended greatly on the sector of the city in which they settled.

Año Nuevo de Kerr emphasizes that the three Chicano neighborhoods experienced parallel, yet different patterns of development in employment, inter-ethnic relationships, and parish organization. As the settlements themselves evolved, a good deal of social distance was created among the residents of the three settlements, but this may have been partly due to the ways migrants were selected into each of the three neighborhoods. Not only were the migratory flows directed by social networks between origin communities and the neighborhood settlements, but the process of out-migration that guided residential succession patterns was itself tied to places of employment. That is, newcomers settled in a particular neighborhood only if they had friends and relatives with clout in particular labor unions. Furthermore, older residents who departed for new neighborhoods and suburbs maintained ties with residents of their original neighborhoods through the mills and neighborhood associations.

Two general observations about the study deserve further comment. First, the general assumption of a unified Chicano community comprised of old and new migrants does not correspond to the settlement experience of Chicago's three Chicano neighborhoods. Although Año Nuevo de Kerr claims that Chicano migration to Chicago between 1920 and 1970 experienced chronological development stages similar to those that occurred in the Southwest, she does not provide empirical support for this generalization. This matter deserves further investigation. A second noteworthy point concerns the prominent role of the workplace and social networks in molding the incorporation experiences of subsequent migrants to the Chicago area. This suggests that labor recruitment patterns and urban adaptation experiences were mediated largely by a set of social relations linking origin and destination communities. Kinship and friendship ties not only draw migrants to a specific area, but also ensure their success (or survival) in potentially alien and unreceptive environments. Thus, like the studies of macro-level push-pull factors that account for migration flows, those focused only on individual migrant's achievements tell only part of the story. Nevertheless, it is instructive to summarize the thinking of researchers who have worked in this type of migration research.

Micro Perspectives

A dominant preoccupation of empirical studies of migration conducted from a micro perspective is the relationship between social and spatial mobility, but the literature about Chicanos has been based on somewhat limited data sources and highly descriptive analyses. To establish a causal link between social and spatial mobility, it is necessary to compare the occupational, educational and income levels of migrants with those of non-migrants (Blevins, 1971; Brawner, 1973; Price, 1971), and to demonstrate further that migrants improved their social and economic circumstances after moving. This seems like a relatively straightforward task, but it is much more complex because it requires several simultaneous controls, including appropriate comparison groups from the source communities. The latter is seldom available in existing data sets (data analyzed by Price, 1971; Blevins, 1971; and Brawner, 1973 are exceptions). Even less is known about whether social mobility requires several moves over a period of time because longitudinal data sets about Mexican origin migrants do not exist. For Chicanos, inferences about the relationship between social and spatial mobility are based largely on one-time surveys, usually conducted in destination communities. A final difficulty results from the failure to measure opportunity costs, such as noneconomic incentives or disincentives to relocate. While these factors are at least acknowledged in some social surveys about the socioeconomic achievements of Chicano migrants, generally they are not properly accounted for in the empirical analyses used in formulating conclusions.

Several studies about the process of Chicanos' adaptation to new environments describe the experiences in the industrial midwest of rural migrants, usually from farm communities in south Texas. Issues considered in evaluating how successfully Chicano migrants adjust include the role of: (1) reception factors in destination communities; (2) social antecedents, or background characteristics referring to the stock of human capital migrants bring with them; and (3) employment opportunities, usually elaborated in vague terms. In most investigations, the latter are taken as given, although at least two studies directly acknowledge the importance of the employment structure (Brawner, 1973; Wells, 1976; Romo, 1977). Unlike the majority of analysts working within the urban adaptation tradition who focus on individually achieved or ascribed attitudes and attitudinal characteristics, Romo, Wells and Brawner deserve credit for attempting to relate individual outcomes to situational factors. However, in most studies

about Chicano migrants' urban experiences, interpretations of length of residence variables need some reconsideration because this variable is used as a proxy for couples' integration processes, assuming that the experiences of later arrivals will parallel those of earlier arrivals in due time. This assumption would be valid only if the opportunity structures in receiving communities were immutable, and they are not.

Despite its predominant focus on the Mexican immigrant population, the study by historian Romo (1977) is among the finest of those attempting to link patterns of spatial and social mobility. The limitations of his study stem from its narrow focus on a single community—Los Angeles—and the peculiarities of his data. His creativity in extracting information about geographic and social mobility from marriage records to illustrate the precarious nature of the migrant flows into and out of Los Angeles between 1918 and 1928, is much to his credit. Romo's findings are noteworthy especially when contrasted to those of Anglo migrants to Boston during a similar time period, because they run counter to the grain of general belief that geographic moves, guided as they are by economic rationality, necessarily improve the social status of migrants.

Romo shows that Mexicanos in Los Angeles from 1918 to 1928 experienced very limited occupational mobility, in spite of the growing employment opportunities in transportation, manufacturing and agricultural industries. He claims that most migrants to Los Angeles stayed for relatively short periods of time because employment opportunities were unstable and wage levels low at that time. Apparently employment opportunities in high blue-collar and white-collar occupations were limited not only for the immigrant generation of Mexicans, but also for the second and third generation. In fact Romo argues that some Mexican migrants experienced downward mobility, but for the majority, the intergenerational transmission of occupations was dominated by immobility. Despite the shortcomings of this study (due largely to the sample size which precluded his conducting rigorous multivariate analyses), it stands out among the genre of studies about how spatial mobility affects social mobility first, by emphasizing the need to focus on out-migration rates, a subject typically ignored by students of internal migration, and second, by building the interpretation of the results on the socio-historical circumstances in Los Angeles at the time the data were collected.

Most micro-analytic studies about Chicano migrants are concerned with the social and economic consequences of migration. This subset of

studies, while numerically more significant, has not produced insights commensurate with the volume of information generated. Several studies have compared the urban adjustment (incorporation) experiences of Chicano migrants to those of black migrants and white natives.³ For example, Price (1971) and Blevins (1971) compared rural-to-urban Mexican American, black and Anglo migrants with similar individuals who remained in their source communities. Their results confirmed that virtually all migrants were better off financially than they had been before moving, and better off than their non-migrant counterparts who remained in rural areas. However, their results, while seemingly intuitive, should not be generalized to all Chicanos because their sample of Mexican Americans only included residents from South Texas who migrated to two large cities—San Antonio and Chicago. On the other hand, their conclusions concur with those of others.

Results produced from the series of Wisconsin migrant adjustment studies (Shannon and Krass, 1962; 1964; Scheff, 1966; Shannon and Morgan, 1966; Shannon and Shannon, 1973), showed that the educational levels of Chicanos improved less rapidly than those of Anglos and blacks regardless of migration status, and there was little association between levels of education and the poverty status of migrants. The latter has been attributed to the poor quality of schooling in rural areas although no one has produced direct verification of this tenet (see Shannon and Krass, 1963; 1964 for claims about regional differences in school quality). Brawner's (1973) study is a possible exception.

Much to his credit, Price generated some insights about the effects of migration on other aspects of Chicanos' well being. He noted, for instance, that migration produced few changes in family structure among Anglos and Chicanos because these groups tended to move in family units, while migration seems to have been more disruptive for blacks. Unlike the New Mexico migrants studied by Samora and Larson (1961), South Texas Chicanos who moved to Chicago and San Antonio during the late sixties may not have followed a chain sequence, but this is not perfectly clear from Price's data, because his Chicago sample was restricted to drop-outs from the migrant farm labor stream. Many of these individuals were already acquainted with the social and economic circumstances in the industrial

³Myers (1974) maintains that the authors do not properly isolate the migrant Anglo sample from native Racine Anglos, thus the comparisons with migrant Chicanos and blacks may be somewhat exaggerated.

cities of the North. Most reported having periods of residence either in Wisconsin, Minnesota, or both before moving to Chicago. Thus, this group of migrants may have been accustomed to moving as a family in search of employment, as do most Chicano farmworkers.

Students of Chicano migration experiences concur about the prominent role of economic conditions in determining decisions to relocate (Price, 1971; Hansen and Gruben, 1971; Shannon and Krass, 1963; 1964; Shannon and Morgan, 1966; Wells, 1976; Scheff, 1966). Price shows that compared to black and Anglo migrants to northern cities, Chicanos are more content with their living situation. Yet, over 60 percent of his Chicago sample said they would return to Texas if employment opportunities were better. Their longing for their community of origin was partly reflected by their maintenance of more extensive ties to their rural origin communities compared to blacks and native whites, despite the greater distances involved.

Evidence based on attitudes and preferences for relocation (Hansen and Gruben, 1971) indicates that high school students are more interested in moving in response to economic opportunities than are older adults, but nearly half of the students interviewed indicated that they would consider the relocation of friends and relatives when making relocation decisions. This shows that noneconomic factors are not trivial determinants of the residential preferences of Chicanos, even though their importance has not been emphasized in extant writings on this topic (for example, see discussion by Tienda, 1980).

Joan Moore's (1970) study about the tendency of Chicanos in Los Angeles to utilize primary group resources more than formal institutionalized resources for resolving economic problems is instructive in this regard. She launched her study in response to claims by others that Chicanos avoid or greatly restrict their reliance on formal resources, even in highly modern and cosmopolitan social environments. Based on an analysis of survey data, Moore found that Chicanos native to Los Angeles tended to rely more on assistance from kin and friends than did recent Chicano in-migrants largely because the former had developed a broader social network from which to draw compared to newer arrivals. Chicanos used formal institutionalized resources mostly for dealing with civic problems, and least for the resolution of personal problems, whether these be strictly economic or social in nature. Reliance on kin to resolve financial problems resulted in the provision of socially cheaper aid because this type of assistance is not stigmatized (unlike

receipt of welfare payments). Assistance from kin produced economically cheaper solutions for recipients because services were usually obtained at no interest.

In general, writings about the causes and consequences of internal migration of Mexican Americans do not emphasize the availability of higher welfare payments as a factor drawing migrants from rural to urban areas, despite their preoccupation with economic considerations. There are, however, exceptions. Based on a 1967 mail survey of farm employers in Ohio, Perry and Snyder (1970; 1971) showed that farmer negativism toward welfare assistance for migrant farmworkers was associated with conservative elements, including Catholic religious affiliation, low status backgrounds and low levels of educational attainment. Their conclusions are not very convincing, however, because some of their results required post-hoc explanations which contradict the initial propositions of the researchers. This reservation notwithstanding, the issue of how the availability of welfare payments alters migration patterns is not trivial, and it has worried conservative politicians for quite some time (See Feagin, 1975). As an increasing number of social services have been extended to migrant farmworkers, the issue of welfare dependence as a possible stimulus for Chicano migration to northern cities has resurfaced. To date, there is no solid evidence about the extent of Chicano migrants' welfare dependence.

Larry Long (1974) did address the question of migration in response to welfare payment levels using the 1970 census data. He demonstrated that black migrants to six of the nation's largest cities were less likely to be poor, or on welfare, than blacks born and raised in these cities. Furthermore, variations in welfare dependence according to recency or arrival suggest that southern migrants initially may have experienced fairly high rates of poverty and welfare dependence. However, after a few years, the southern migrants were more successful in escaping from poverty and welfare dependence than blacks who were native to these six cities. Interestingly, this pattern did not emerge for whites. Although Long does not deal specifically with the Mexican American population, his results are suggestive and invite research along similar lines for Chicanos. In light of the evidence generated from Moore's analysis of the use of formal and informal resources, and Perry and Snyder's (1970; 1971) work about farmer's attitudes toward the use of welfare resources by seasonal migrant farmworkers, an analysis similar to Long's conducted for Chicanos would be especially valuable.

The studies based on the adjustment experiences of Chicano migrants in Racine, Wisconsin during the late sixties and early seventies share a common focus in their emphasis on the consequences of migration, measured in terms of educational, occupational and income differences between black and Chicano migrants compared to a sample of Anglo natives (see note 3). Shannon and his associates explicitly identify several sets of factors that determine the economic absorption and cultural integration of Chicano migrants. By using Anglos native to Racine as the standard for evaluating the achievements of Chicano and black migrants, these studies implicitly subscribe to an assimilationist view which attributes migrants' successes and failures exclusively to individual differences while deemphasizing the role of structural factors in shaping individual outcomes. This approach is not surprising because the assimilationist paradigm was in vogue at the time among students of immigration (see Gordon, 1964 for the general statement on this topic). Consequently, the Wisconsin researchers simply adapted this framework to the study of the adjustment experiences of internal migrants.

One of the distinctive features of the Wisconsin studies is that they are among the first attempting to quantify the adjustment process of Chicano migrants using multivariate techniques. By current standards, many of the empirical analyses are simple and methodologically flawed. Seeking to determine how educational antecedents influence the labor market experiences of Chicano and black migrants, Shannon and Krass (1963) found that high levels of education did not ensure high levels of occupational status for migrants. Their results show that Chicanos and Anglos had significantly different occupational positions, with the advantage favoring native Anglos, regardless of the length of time Chicanos had spent in Racine. Clearly, this evidence contradicts the predictions of the assimilationist framework, but they cite qualitative differences between the North and South in content of school curricula as one possible explanation for these discrepancies. They avoided discussing the role of discriminatory practices and structural factors which encouraged the use of Chicano migrant labor in the lower strata of the occupational hierarchy.

Although the basic points Shannon and Krass (1963; 1964) made are not incorrect, they were unable to establish causal relationships because their analyses were largely descriptive. In particular, the role of reception factors in accounting for the labor market experiences of Chicano migrants to Racine are not well integrated in their empirical analyses, despite their occasional references to these. In a later study, Shannon and Morgan (1966)

identified several key variables that should be accounted for when analyzing Chicanos, economic and cultural integration experiences, but they confessed to not understanding the complex chain of experiences that facilitates or impedes successful integration. The role of cultural factors was never properly classified, despite the numerous references to its importance as a factor inhibiting integration (Scheff, 1965).

Brawner's (1973) study about how migration influences the educational achievement of the children of Texas migrants to Racine is among the finest of those studies emphasizing how individual attributes explain socioeconomic outcomes because she considers the importance of situational factors. Her arguments are all the more compelling because the study design is longitudinal and uses appropriate controls for possible selection bias.⁴ Essentially, Brawner compares the actual school completion levels and age grade retardation patterns of children whose parents migrated to Racine with those of a control group who remained in south Texas. This group was carefully matched on age and sex characteristics. Her results show that the children of Racine migrants had a clear advantage in terms of postgraduate education, grade completed and drop-out rates, despite the fact that their parent's expected a lower performance than actually achieved. Therefore, she concludes that situational factors, namely the greater emphasis on academic achievement and higher performance standards in the Racine school system rather than cultural factors explain the better performance of Chicano children in Racine. Choldin and Trout (1969) similarly concluded that the diversity of outcomes among Mexican American migrants to the Midwest result largely from socioeconomic characteristics of places and individuals, rather than cultural interference.

Studies about the educational achievements of the children of migrant farmworkers have sought to explain their poor achievements in terms of unstable school enrollment patterns and the poor self-conceptions that often accompany them. Although Gecas (1973) found that migrant children appear to have more positive self images than do settled Mexican Americans, he attributed this to the different base for comparison used by both groups. He claims that migrant children tend to compare themselves

⁴Although she found evidence of selectivity among the groups of migrant parents, this ran in a direction opposite to what would be predicted, meaning that the migrant parents had lower educational attainment levels than the parents of children who remained in south Texas. This could only bolster her argument about the importance of situational factors in determining individual outcomes.

with foreign-born Mexicans, whereas settled Mexican Americans compared themselves to Anglos. Henggeler and Tavormina (1978) maintain that migrant children have lower self images than Anglos, a result due not to intellectual deficiencies, but rather to their ability to perceive accurately and access their prospects for improving their objective material conditions. Their findings demonstrate the intellectual, academic and emotional vulnerabilities of the children of migrant farmworkers and thus recommend ameliorative programs to avoid their persistence in the poverty stratum of the stratification system.

In a manner similar to Brawner, Wells (1976) emphasizes the importance of objective structural circumstances in shaping the socioeconomic outcomes of Chicano migrants to a Wisconsin industrial city. Wells relates the declining opportunities in agriculture, where Chicano migrant farmworkers customarily found temporary employment, to the increasing job opportunities in two industrial firms—a tannery and a foundry. The growth of jobs in these two industries was tied specifically to the demand for Mexican workers because employers perceived them to be unskilled workers with few economic alternatives who were accustomed not only to hard work, but also to low wages. This situation arose partly because workers of European ancestry were refusing to work under the labor conditions that Mexicans apparently were willing to accept. Thus, Wells ties the labor market outcomes not only to the changes in the structure of production in southeastern Wisconsin, but also to the class tensions emerging within two industries. These were partly attenuated by substituting Chicano for European ethnic labor.

Wells deserves credit for distinguishing between migrants who chose to settle in Wisconsin on a permanent basis and those who chose to continue seasonal migration. Unlike the studies based on the Chicano migrant settlement in Racine, Wells argues that migrant farmworkers who had established stable ties with specific growers did not perceive their participation in the migrant farmworker stream as being unstable and economically insecure. Rather, the seasonal migrants deliberately chose not to settle permanently in Wisconsin. In contrast, those who decided to settle in Racine did so because of unstable positions in seasonal agriculture. They perceived better economic opportunities in the tannery and foundry, even though this meant separation from their social support systems in Texas. However, the absence of a social network became a temporary situation, as the chain migration sequence unfolded and re-established friendship and kinship ties in this northern urban industrial community.

New Directions for Internal Migration Research

This discussion about the causes and consequences of the internal migration patterns of the Chicano population indicates a clear need for further research to address the numerous questions raised by existing studies. However, unless accompanied by a prioritized research agenda designed to organize and reorient this field, individual researchers who pursue their own narrowly defined interests, will continue to proliferate incomplete pictures, such as those portrayed by the compendium of existing studies. Therefore my closing discussion aims to pull together unanswered questions by insisting on the need for innovative research approaches that can illustrate linkages between aggregate flows and individual consequences.

Before proceeding, let me summarize briefly my appraisal of the state of the art. Two general observations suffice. First, existing research about the causes and consequences of Chicano internal migration patterns provides limited analytical insights as to the underlying causal mechanisms, because it relies heavily on description of either national/regional aggregates, or highly localized settings. Second, in spite of the fact that migration refers to a fundamentally dynamic process, most studies portray a static view, mostly characterizing it as an event. In part, this results because of the pronounced tendency to conduct research using one-time cross-sectional surveys based on the subset of individuals who actually move, neglecting altogether the component of the population that does not move. This approach to migration directs attention to the migrant experiences in receiving communities, especially to matters of how individual migrants adjust to circumstances, portraying them as passive rather than active agents of social change. It also deflects attention from the reception factors in communities of destination which condition migrants' experiences in incorporating themselves into a new set of social arrangements.

The most pressing research need in this area is to interpret their changing residential distribution by linking spatial with social dimensions in a coherent and systematic fashion. This requires information about the characteristics of *places* as well as the *individuals* who inhabit them. Of course, this broadly stated research directive has numerous components which can be accomplished independently. However, unless someone periodically undertakes the task of integrating specific findings into a broad framework, the social significance of the residential distribution of the Chicano population will never be understood well.

Several general questions raised by the review deserve emphasis because they should serve as guide posts for future research. First, how have past migratory movements altered the socioeconomic and class positions of the Chicano population? Given the changing regional configuration of production involving a shift from the "frostbelt" to the "sunbelt" during the past decade, how might the socioeconomic class configuration of the Chicano population be altered in the future? Although this could imply increased or stable concentration in the Southwest, it could still promote further differentiation, and possibly a "turn-around" phenomenon involving a move away from large metropolitan centers and into smaller and medium-sized cities. It is difficult to say more about these possibilities without further knowledge about the changing class locations of Chicanos and how changes in the spatial organization of production influences these.

A second area for future investigation is to clarify how characteristics of localities (i.e., neighborhoods, communities, cities, labor markets, etc.) operate to confer differential advantages (or disadvantages) to Mexican American migrants. A related research need is to ascertain how the formation and evolution of residential enclaves (barrios) benefit or deter the rate at which Mexican American migrants become socially and economically integrated into new communities. This requires first specifying clearly the definitions of social and economic integration, and determining whether there is a chronology to the events and processes characterizing migrant incorporation processes in environments that differ in their structural and compositional character. One concrete need is to determine whether patterned succession patterns can be discerned for barrios classified by size, socioeconomic characteristics and age, and if so, whether this reveals any new insights about the social mobility of particular groups of Chicanos.

There are several glaring omissions in the existing literature which invite further research. Because this review is already quite long, a few examples, stated in the form of questions, will suffice to convey my general point.

1. How does *distance* condition the propensity of Chicanos to move, and how does it influence their subsequent relocation experiences? Although the literature contains some discussion of migration between regions, no researcher has attempted to sort the influence of distance from that of location *per se* in shaping individual outcomes. This consideration is important because it can provide insight about the circumstances leading to circular streams and those governing permanent return moves. At this

point, we know virtually nothing about return patterns and how they may differ between specific localities. For example, would a return migrant from Michigan to Texas be similar to one returning from California to Texas? Are migrants to California less or more likely to return? What set of factors, in addition to distance, would mediate these relationships? This information is essential for determining whether policy interventions are required.

2. What aspects of Chicano migration patterns are unique, and which are generalizable to other racial and ethnic minority groups? This research gap results partly from the limited amount of comparative research in this field. Like Chicanos, blacks also experienced a massive geographic transition, particularly since the post-war period, and while a few analysts have compared their integration experiences in receiving communities, none has systematically analyzed the forces which dynamized these flows. Why, for instance, was the migratory flow of blacks from the South to the North much greater than that of Chicanos from the Southwest to the Midwest? Did elements of voluntary and forced movement differ between these two groups, and how were these manifested? How important are differing opportunity structures in explaining these differences? A historical account of the role of blacks and Chicanos in the U.S. agriculture is an essential starting point for addressing this set of questions.

3. How have Chicano internal migration patterns shaped inter-ethnic relations? This question focuses on the role of reception factors in receiving communities and the resulting patterns of residential segregation. Past studies have called attention to the phenomenon of ethnic enclaves, but few have indicated how, as enclaves evolve, inter-ethnic relations are altered, if at all, and which groups can co-exist to form an enclave. Are Chicanos as likely to settle in areas where recent immigrants from Mexico live, and if not, what is the nature of Chicano Mexican relations? Are they similar to those between Chicanos and whites, or Chicanos and blacks, or in what ways do they differ? What implications do residential patterns have for the development and maintenance of ethnic cohesion among Chicanos, or do class differences take precedence in determining inter-ethnic relations? There is some evidence suggesting that periods of residence in barrios or ethnic neighborhoods facilitates migrant incorporation experiences, but the mechanisms for this to come about are unclear. If the residential dispersion of the Chicano population promoted its stature from that of a regional to a national minority, have inter-ethnic tensions been eased or heightened as a by-product?

4. How have changing residential patterns altered the political participation of Chicanos? One of the advantages of clustered settlement patterns is the potential for mobilizing support for political candidates. In the past, when Chicanos were highly geographically concentrated in the Southwest, this did not happen. The sixties were a turning point for Chicano involvement in institutionalized political roles. Most of the gains in the political sphere have occurred in the Southwest, where visibility and shared experiences helped elect Chicanos to public offices. Several unanswered questions remain, however. Are elected officials, usually from large urban areas, able to serve residents of rural areas of small towns? Or, are the needs and concerns of this segment of the Chicano population still relatively unserved? Has population dispersal weakened the possibilities for forming political machines in key areas of the Southwest, or has the political process been unhampered by population loss in areas of high Chicano concentration? Will Chicanos residing in the Midwest be able to participate in the political process by serving in all levels of government as have Chicanos in the Southwest, or will they continue to be subservient within Anglo-dominated political systems? It is difficult to imagine internal migration not affecting the political process, therefore analysts should set forth a way to investigate the political consequences of internal migration.

I could go on outlining specific research questions, but instead prefer to make a general statement about research methodologies. Given the current state of internal migration research about Chicanos, future analysts would be well advised to strive for the development of innovative conceptualizations and models to study internal migration processes. Furthermore, they must use improved techniques of data analysis to keep up with the general field of sociology and demography. This means a move away from highly descriptive univariate or bivariate tabulations, and toward multivariate models that portray adequately the complexity of the underlying social forces.

Multilevel approaches to the study of internal migration promise to shed new light on old questions centering around the flow of workers and their mode of incorporation into receiving communities. One of which is especially pertinent for the Mexican-origin population entails the study of patterns of contact with kin. This will enable researchers to link two or more communities that are separated by long distances. Although the study of social networks created by internal migration streams has not received much systematic attention, this approach could be valuable for identifying

the conditions under which future flows might be expected to emerge, and what form they are likely to take.

My plea to devise innovative approaches to study the migration patterns and residential configuration of the Chicano population which are based on more than one level of aggregation is intended to bring back into the picture the role of structural factors, including economic and social dimensions. This means studying the incorporation processes of migrants not only in terms of individuals with specific economic and demographic attributes, but also as social groups who continually devise creative strategies to cope with a changing set of circumstances. My case is that it is essential to relate directly the characteristics of migrants to their immediate environments in empirical analyses. Also, migrant experiences in receiving communities should be explained in terms of social dynamics at the household, neighborhood and higher levels of social organization. When generated for several localities, this type of information will provide a basis for drawing inferences about (1) the similarities and differences in the migrant incorporation experiences according to their origins and destinations; (2) the presence and features of ethnic enclaves in the sending and receiving communities; (3) the characteristics of the labor markets including the extent of stratification along ethnic lines; and (4) the specific characteristics of the migrants.

Relatively little work to date has analyzed migration rates of Chicanos between specific localities. This gap can be partly redressed through routine computations of census data. To provide further information of a more richly textured nature, communities can be used as analytic units to study aggregate impacts of wage labor flows. This strategy has potential to bridge macro and micro approaches to migration through the study of changes in the division of labor at the household, community, state and regional levels, depending on the analytic levels built into a research design. It is probably easier to initiate such studies in receiving communities, but this does not mean that sending communities should continue to be characterized in terms of those who stay behind, for this produces well-known but little understood selectivity biases. What is certain is that until researchers indicate clearly what determines patterns of inflows and outflows of individuals from specific areas, it will be virtually impossible to get a handle on the complexity of movement of the Chicano population, let alone its multifaceted social significance. Chicano migration patterns will continue to be portrayed as vague processes for which the only traces

are the net residential distributions measured by the Census Bureau every ten years. Given the dynamism of the internal geographic movement of the Chicano population, most of the process will be hidden from the purview of the research community, that is, unless new approaches to internal migration research are pursued.

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The Study of Mexican Immigration

Wayne A. Cornelius

There are two basic paradigms that guide the work of most U.S. scholars specializing in international labor migration, or the more specific phenomenon of labor migration from less-industrialized to more-industrialized countries. These paradigms offer very different explanations for the development and persistence of such migratory movements. They take very different views of the migrants' role in the labor markets of the receiving countries. And they provide very different assessments of what can and should be done by the public sector to regulate such labor flows across international borders.

In this paper I shall try to highlight the basic differences between these two competing paradigms in immigration research, and to outline some implications of adopting one or the other of these paradigms as a basis for public policymaking in the United States.

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The "Superfluous Labor" Paradigm

This paradigm begins by recognizing the existence of a strong demand on the part of U.S. employers (at least in certain sectors of the economy) for foreign migrant labor. However, it defines that employer demand as unnecessary, illegitimate, and harmful to the more general economic and social interests of the United States (e.g., the collective interest in avoiding cultural or linguistic fragmentation), and particularly to the interests of disadvantaged minority groups in the United States, defined in terms of employment opportunities and higher wages.

Scholars who work within this paradigm—including such labor economists as Vernon Briggs (1980), Mark Miller and Philip Martin (1982), and Walter Fogel (1977)—do not question the existence of a strong U.S. demand for foreign labor, but disagree with scholars who prefer the alternative paradigm described below, about the *nature* of that demand. Are Mexican migrants (and other foreign workers) *necessary* workers, or just *preferred* workers—preferred over U.S.-born workers by U.S. employers, because they are (allegedly) far more tractable, less likely to complain about poor working conditions, less likely to participate in labor union activities, and more likely to accept low wage scales? Is the employer demand for such labor legitimate or illegitimate, in the sense that employers' needs could or could not be met by drawing upon domestic labor supplies?

Scholars working within the "We-Don't-Really-Need-Them" paradigm would answer that foreign-born labor is clearly desirable to employers in the U.S., because of its lower cost and greater tractability; but it is not necessary to the growth and functioning of the U.S. economy. It is not necessary, either because the jobs now filled by alien workers are "marginal" and could be eliminated without serious disruptions in the U.S. economy, or because there are ample numbers of U.S.-born workers available to fill them, especially if the jobs are "up-graded" to offer higher wages, more generous fringe benefits, and better working conditions. And, they would argue, there is no reason why the jobs in question cannot and should not be upgraded to the extent necessary to attract U.S.-born job-seekers.

Those holding this view acknowledge that immigration did play an important, positive role in the economic development of the United States and other industrialized nations during earlier periods of their history (in the case of the U.S., at least up to 1920; in Western Europe, during the first two decades after World War II). They argue, however, that foreign labor—especially of the unskilled variety—is now an anachronism; a subsidy to

a small minority of undeserving employers; a "luxury" enjoyed by the privileged few which we as a society can no longer afford. As stated by the former staff director of the U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on Population,

While continuation of a significant flow of immigrants with scarce skills can represent an important contribution by filling gaps in the American labor force, there is no longer an economic justification for large numbers of relatively unskilled and ill-educated immigrant workers and their dependents. In this view, the U.S. economy is now a highly advanced one in which relatively high or specialized levels of education and work skills are virtual necessities for productive employment. While jobs can be found by unskilled workers willing to accept low pay and poor conditions of employment..., a large pool of such workers contributes little to productivity. Indeed, in this view...the large number of compliant workers generates market demand for such labor by retarding the upgrading of wage and working conditions that would make the same jobs attractive to Americans and encourage [employer] investment in labor-saving technologies. (Teitelbaum, 1980: 35)

The argument that availability of Mexican and other foreign labor serves to depress productivity in the U.S. economy has been used with increasing frequency by proponents of more restrictive U.S. immigration policies. Former U.S. Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall has argued that, not only are foreign migrants typically less productive than American workers (because they are unskilled and uneducated), but overall productivity in the U.S. economy is depressed, because the availability of low-cost foreign labor enables the businesses which employ such workers to delay the introduction of more modern technologies:

Mechanization would probably increase national productivity, because an important reason for declining productivity in the U.S. has been declining capital-labor ratios...A steady growth of relatively unskilled labor [through immigration from countries like Mexico] tends to perpetuate low-wage, low-productivity jobs. Illegal immigration might increase GNP but not necessarily productivity. (Marshall, 1981: 18)

Thus, by permitting a large foreign migrant labor pool to exist, the U.S. is, in effect, subsidizing low-productivity, technologically antiquated, marginal enterprises. As economist Sidney Weintraub of the University of Texas recently observed,

The elimination of these small, uncompetitive businesses would not be a tragedy for the United States. It's a natural phenomenon. (Weintraub, 1980)

Those who prefer this paradigm view Mexican migration to the U.S. historically as a phenomenon that developed mainly in response to the demands of U.S. employers (greedy agribusiness entrepreneurs, railroad builders, and assorted other robber barons of the U.S. Southwest) for cheap labor. Even today, they view Mexican immigration as a phenomenon that responds primarily to employer demand in the U.S. rather than wage differentials between the U.S. and Mexico, or unemployment and population pressures within Mexico. They view large-scale, relatively prosperous businesses in the U.S. as the primary employers of Mexican labor: firms that could well afford either to pay much higher wage bills or to purchase labor-saving machinery. If the firm is too small or economically marginal to substitute U.S.-born workers or machinery for Mexican workers, it should, in their view, be allowed to go out of business.

Within this paradigm, the so-called "bad jobs" in the U.S. economy—jobs that pay no more than the legal minimum wage, that offer few prospects for advancement, that involve dirty or monotonous or dangerous tasks—should not exist.¹ Such jobs should be eliminated if they cannot be upgraded sufficiently to attract enough U.S.-born workers to fill them. In other words, if an employer *must* recruit Mexicans to fill these jobs, they should cease to exist.

Immigration, in this view, is not an appropriate vehicle for meeting legitimate needs in the U.S. economy. Mechanization will eliminate the "bad jobs." The "good jobs" can then be upgraded and filled with U.S. workers. Those who work within this paradigm do not see the U.S. economy as being structurally dependent in any way upon Mexican or other foreign

¹Employment specialist Eli Ginzberg, former chairman of the National Commission for Employment Policy, has estimated that "only three out of ten jobs added in the private sector of the [U.S.] economy since 1950 can be regarded as good jobs." (See Eli Ginzberg, *Good Jobs, Bad Jobs, No Jobs* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979], p. 30).

labor. Rather, in today's advanced industrial or post-industrial economy, such labor is superfluous. Rather than helping to maintain the competitive position of economically viable U.S. businesses in the domestic and international economies, the immigration of low-skilled foreign workers is necessary only to increase or preserve the profit margins of certain classes of employers, the vast majority of whom could well afford to do without foreign workers.

In this paradigm, the apparent scarcity of U.S.-born workers willing and available to fill the jobs now held by Mexicans and other foreigners is only a *relative* (not absolute) scarcity. It is relative to current wage scales and working conditions for these jobs. "In other words," as Ray Marshall put it, "if there were no illegals, the jobs would be different... Illegals depress wages and working conditions and sometimes cause jobs to be considered undesirable simply because they occupy them" (Marshall, 1981: 17). If wages are raised sufficiently, the relative shortage of domestic labor will disappear: the laws of neo-classical, relative-wage, supply-and-demand economics suggest this outcome. At least in theory, it is possible to effect a massive restructuring of the low-skill, low-wage labor markets in which foreign workers are now clustered. And that restructuring can be accomplished largely by governmental fiat: legislation penalizing employers who knowingly hire undocumented migrants, stronger enforcement efforts by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service at the border and in workplaces, and so forth. Through such laws and policies, the U.S. Government could create an incentive system which would induce employers to search out more diligently, train or retrain unemployed U.S.-born workers in our cities. But this will happen only if such native workers are desperately *needed* by employers. The employers must have their foreign labor supply cut off, to create such a need.

According to this paradigm, domestic sources of labor to fill low-skill, low-status jobs have not been exhausted, and may not even be exhausted during the 1980s and 1990s, when the full impact of the "baby bust" of the 1960s and 1970s will be felt. Scholars working within this paradigm discount the possibility of labor shortages in the U.S. at any point in the foreseeable future, *assuming* that the labor-force participation of U.S. women continues to rise as it did during the 1970s, and assuming that the average age of retirement will continue to rise.

Even if depressed fertility rates among the U.S. population and other sociological changes among the U.S.-born work force should produce an

absolute scarcity of low-skilled labor in the next two decades, mechanization or even the export of the jobs now held by foreign workers to other countries (the "runaway industries" phenomenon) is still preferable, in this view, to *immigration* as a means of meeting U.S. economic needs. Why? Because foreign-born workers—especially poorly educated ones—are seen as being too difficult to assimilate, culturally and politically. Our capacity as a society to absorb such people has already been exceeded, and letting more come in—even in response to legitimate employer needs for labor—is unacceptable because it will place too great a burden on the social fabric of the nation, and perhaps even disrupt its political stability. Economic conditions within the U.S. are no longer favorable to the integration of low-skilled, poorly-educated, culturally "different" people into meaningful and productive roles in our society, even if these people—as individuals—have what it takes to become "good Americans." They have missed the boat, historically. They are arriving too late in the scramble for upward mobility. We already have too many racial and ethnic minorities in the United States who are not "making it" economically, and we don't need any more.

In sum, within this paradigm the presence of Mexican and most other foreign workers in the U.S. labor market is viewed like a cancer—a pathological phenomenon that can and should be cut out of our economy and society. This migratory movement is not related to "real" U.S. economic needs; the country is not structurally dependent upon it; foreign labor is just a subsidy to employers and to middle-class consumers, who pay less for the goods and services produced with "cheap" foreign labor.

The "Structural Dependence" Paradigm

Scholars working within this alternative paradigm begin by viewing labor migration as one of the various processes that are inexorably promoting—for good or ill—the integration of the U.S. and Mexican economies: a process of "silent integration" that will continue, regardless of what the U.S. and Mexican governments try to do about it (Reynolds, 1981). In this view, the foreign presence in our labor market is too large and too deeply institutionalized to be eliminated, without intolerable costs. Thus, a massive restructuring of low-skill, low-wage labor markets in the U.S. through governmental fiat, so as to purge them of foreign workers and compel the substitution of domestic workers for immigrants, is not seen as a realistic option.

According to this paradigm, advanced industrial economies like those of the United States and Western Europe have become *structurally dependent* upon foreign labor.² Despite extensive mechanization and technological advancements in recent decades, advanced industrial economies still seem to require a large, mobile, relatively unskilled labor force that can be drawn upon to perform a wide variety of low-status, repetitious, physically demanding tasks in the society. Since the 1950s the number of such jobs has remained constant or has even increased—even in the agricultural sector—while supplies of domestic labor available to fill them have been diminished by a combination of factors: low birth rates, rising levels of education and job aspirations among new U.S.-born entrants to the labor force, and upward mobility of certain sectors of the native-born population which had formerly filled such jobs (e.g., blacks and Chicanos).

In this paradigm, continued immigration at relatively high levels is not just an expedient but a *necessity* of advanced capitalism. As economist Michael Piore has put it, a continuous stream of migrants from economically “backward” areas is critical to the process of economic growth, at least as it has occurred in the Western world (Piore, 1979). In most economic models it is the supply of labor that ultimately limits economic growth. Proponents of the “structural dependence” paradigm argue that labor supply is still a major constraint on U.S. economic growth, and that adequate rates of growth (e.g., at least 3 percent per year) in the remainder of this century will depend upon the availability of a large foreign labor pool in the U.S. Economist Clark Reynolds has projected that if the U.S. is to maintain a 3 percent per annum rate of economic growth, the U.S. may need 5–15 million immigrant workers in its labor force by the year 2000 to meet the anticipated shortfall of U.S.-born workers to fill low-skill, entry-level jobs (Reynolds, 1980).³ Such a growth rate would be necessary to ensure full employment and adequate mobility opportunities for U.S.-born minority workers, who have always done better during periods of economic expansion.

²The major exception is Japan. For an analysis of this complex case, see Edwin P. Reubens, “Low-Level Work in Japan Without Foreign Workers,” *International Migration Review*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (Winter, 1981): 749–757.

³Clark W. Reynolds, “Labor Market Projections for the United States and Mexico and Their Relevance to Current Migration Controversies,” *Food Research Institute Studies*, Vol. 17 (Stanford, Calif.: Food Research Institute, Stanford University, 1980).

Those adopting the "structural dependence" paradigm not only recognize the existence of a *relative* scarcity of low-skill domestic labor in the U.S., but predict a significant, *absolute* shortfall of available U.S.-born workers by the late 1980s. They do not see mechanization, massive restructuring of low-wage labor markets, nor exportation of the "bad jobs" now held by foreign workers as being desirable or even feasible responses to this shortfall.

Proponents of this paradigm criticize those working in the "superfluous labor" paradigm for being too parochial in their view of the U.S. labor market. They argue that there is already an *international* labor market for most kinds of manufacturing activities and for certain types of agriculture: a labor market encompassing the U.S., Mexico, parts of the Caribbean, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Korea, and other low-wage countries. They emphasize that in today's global economy, *all* factors of production—capital and technology, as well as labor—tend to be highly mobile across international boundaries (Reynolds, 1981; Sassen-Koob, 1981). Thus it is impossible to build a wall around the U.S. economy and expect investment capital to stay within it: no non-socialist, industrialized country in the world has succeeded in doing that. Larger U.S. employers often do not see themselves as being limited to the domestic, U.S.-born labor supply.

Reynolds has pointed out that wage scales in the U.S. are becoming increasingly sensitive to wage scales everywhere, especially at the low end of the wage scale, and especially in agriculture and labor-intensive, light manufacturing industry. International competitive pressures will continue to exert a constraint upon wage increases in these sectors of our economy, regardless of our degree of success in limiting the entry of foreign workers, as long as relatively free trade prevails in the world economy (Reynolds, 1980). Under these conditions, governmental efforts to restrict the supply of foreign labor available to U.S. employers in these sectors would have the effect of accelerating the "runaway industries" phenomenon which has already reached epidemic proportions in sectors like textiles and garments, electronics, and auto parts manufacturing. Large U.S. corporations like General Electric, Ford, and General Motors are currently in the process of transferring many of their most labor-intensive product lines or production processes to Mexico (especially in the form of "in-bond" border assembly plants—*maquiladoras*) and other low-wage nations.

Proponents of this paradigm emphasize the loss of jobs to U.S. workers that results from such capital flight. But what about economic activities

which cannot be transferred to foreign soil, such as urban commerce and services that make heavy use of foreign labor? "Structural dependence" theorists would argue that the U.S. demand for such services is not infinitely elastic: dramatic wage increases — of the magnitude necessary to achieve substitution of U.S.-born for foreign-born workers — would be passed along to consumers, resulting in reduced consumption and loss of jobs for U.S. workers who are employed in the affected businesses, along with the foreign employees. Restaurants, hotels, and other leisure industries would be patronized less frequently. Fewer senior citizens would seek convalescent care in private facilities. Fewer women with pre-school children would seek full-time employment outside the home; and so forth.

Scholars working within this paradigm point to the exportation of labor-intensive production ("runaway industries," Mexican border assembly plants) and shifts of production out of highly labor-intensive industries into less labor-intensive sectors of the U.S. economy as examples of the many options available to U.S. employers who now make extensive use of Mexican labor. They caution that we should not expect wages for U.S.-born, low-skill workers to rise drastically and automatically in response to a reduction in the supply of foreign labor, because most employers have other options — alternatives to raising wages and improving fringe benefits.⁴

Structural-dependence theorists also argue that domestic labor is not infinitely substitutable for foreign labor — certainly not at this point in time — regardless of improvements in wages and fringe benefits. They point

⁴For example, a recent study of California growers' responses to the cut-off of "bracero" labor in 1964 (when the "bracero program" of contract labor with Mexico was terminated unilaterally by the U.S. Congress) found that tomato growers mechanized their harvesting operations; lettuce and citrus growers responded by reorganizing their production process to allow for higher wages (e.g., by introducing compensation on a piece-rate basis); strawberry growers adjusted by converting Mexican field laborers into sharecroppers who, in turn, recruited Mexican "illegals" and relatives to do the actual planting and harvesting; and certain specialty crops like white asparagus were unable to adjust and moved to Mexico, where cheap labor was available. See David Runsten and Phillip LeVeen, *Mechanization and Mexican Labor in California Agriculture* (La Jolla, Calif.: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California-San Diego, Monograph Series, No. 6, 1981). For a detailed study of employer adjustment in the citrus industry, see Richard Mines and Ricardo Anzaldúa, *New Migrants vs. Old Migrants: Alternative Labor Market Structures in the California Citrus Industry* (La Jolla, Ca.: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, Monograph Series, No. 9, 1981).

out that domestic workers often are not sufficiently mobile, geographically, to take advantage of new employment opportunities; that attitudes toward manual labor have changed in the U.S. society, especially among young people, and even among many of their parents, who do not want their children employed in lower manual occupations; that certain kinds of jobs have become stigmatized over the years by their association with Mexican or other foreign labor; and that, for these and many other reasons, the "superfluous labor" paradigm offers a hopelessly anachronistic and romanticized image of the U.S. labor market. They view the U.S. labor as one a market where disadvantaged young Americans will take any job if only it pays "decent wages" and offers "humane" working conditions, regardless of how socially undesirable the work may be; regardless of how boring or repetitious the task; regardless of how dirty or physically arduous the work is; regardless of how limited the prospects for advancement may be. "Dependence" theorists stress that low wage scales and meager fringe benefits are not the only disincentives to taking the jobs now performed by foreign workers.

Those working within the structural dependence paradigm also reject the image of the employers of foreign workers that has been popularized by "superfluous labor" theorists: predominantly marginal, technologically antiquated firms, whose survival or expansion is not vital to the U.S. economy. Does the hotel and restaurant industry in the Southwest fall into that category? The hospital and nursing home industry? The electronics components industry? Even California's "high-tech," silicone chips industry is making increasing use of immigrant women—mostly Latinos and Asians—performing the work in their own homes:

Called "assembly contract laborers," they do the most repetitive, unskilled and occasionally dangerous work in what is generally thought of as a clean industry. . . assembling printed circuit boards, one of the most labor-intensive parts of the electronics industry. "Stuffing," or inserting the finished silicon chips and other parts into small plastic boards, is one of the last steps in the production of digital watches, computers, and thousands of other products. . . The electronics industry is apparently turning to home-assembly workers because of speed and cost savings on the final production stage, which cannot easily be automated. . . Industry executives who are willing to talk about the practice claim

that it is the only way they can hold their own with foreign competitors. (Markoff, 1980: 11)

Regardless of the validity of such employer claims, they do reflect employer perceptions, preferences, fears, and profit motives that cannot be legislated or policed out of existence. Such concerns will continue to influence employer behavior, in the hiring of workers, the siting of new investments, and many other kinds of decisions.

Under such circumstances, it serves little purpose, according to the "structural dependence" paradigm, to speculate about ways of phasing out the use of Mexican and other foreign labor in the U.S. economy, or even of drastically reducing U.S. dependence on foreign workers to fill lower-level, manual-labor jobs, particularly in regions like the Southwest and parts of the Midwest industrial belt, where employer-immigrant recruitment networks are highly institutionalized. "Dependence" theorists contend that the phenomenon with which we are dealing is not simply "capitalism-seeking-to-protect-its-profits," but rather, a far more complex, economic and sociological phenomenon; more of a structural feature of the U.S. political economy than a transient affliction.

Policy Implications

The two divergent conceptual frameworks outlined above lead to very different policy prescriptions. Under the "superfluous labor" paradigm, the U.S. government should move as rapidly as possible to purge the country's labor markets of unnecessary foreign workers, by making it far more difficult for undocumented migrants to enter the U.S. and to find jobs. Stronger border enforcement is needed to impede entry, and legislation penalizing employers who knowingly hire undocumented workers is the principal tool for reducing employment opportunities for such workers. Such measures may produce some short-term disruptions or unpleasant side effects: consumer prices for agricultural produce and some other products and services may go up; a few "marginal" businesses will be forced to close; the U.S. might lose some manufacturing jobs to Mexico, the Caribbean, or the Far East; the U.S. might have to accept a slightly lower rate of economic growth in the remainder of this century and beyond. Government-to-government relations with Mexico and other source countries for undocumented immigration would be strained for a time. But to "superfluous labor" theorists, these are all relatively minor prices, well worth paying, for the anticipated benefits in terms of lowered unemployment rates among

U.S. minority workers, reduced bills for social services, and avoidance of cultural divisions.

"Structural dependence" theorists question the notion that immigration policy can serve as an effective tool for reducing national unemployment rates. They point out that this approach would require stringent new government controls on individual movement and hiring practices: a massive, new intrusion of the federal government into the lives of individual citizens and the decisions of private businesses, coming at a time when the whole thrust of public opinion in the U.S. is to reduce the intrusive role of the federal government and the attendant costs of such government interventions. They argue that such an approach would probably increase social tensions, rather than reduce them; it would increase employer discrimination in hiring against Hispanic citizens, while creating relatively few new job opportunities for them; it would increase the long-term fiscal burden on the U.S. taxpayer, by creating an anti-immigrant backlash so strong that local and state government agencies will find it politically necessary to exclude undocumented immigrants and their children from tuition-free public education, non-emergency health care, and other basic human services. The denial of these services will increase the likelihood that immigrants and/or their U.S.-born children will become public charges.

"Structural dependence" theorists begin by accepting the existence of a permanent, relative (if not absolute) scarcity of U.S.-born labor to fill certain low-skill, manual, entry-level jobs, at least in the Southwest and other areas with rapidly expanding economies. They would concentrate governmental action upon reducing the vulnerability of foreign workers to exploitation and abuse, by: (a) increasing the number of opportunities available to such workers to enter the U.S. *legally*, on either a permanent or temporary basis; (b) stringently enforcing the existing anti-discrimination laws, minimum wage and fair labor standards laws; and (c) removing governmental obstacles (e.g., INS raids on workplaces where union organizing activity may be underway) to the unionization of workers in those sectors of the economy where foreign workers cluster. For this last strategy to succeed, of course, U.S. labor unions would have to get over their basic ambivalence or hostility toward foreign workers and recognize such workers as targets of opportunity rather than threats to hard-won labor standards.

"Structural dependence" theorists do not blame immigrants but rather the federal government for the general trend toward erosion of labor standards in some sectors of the U.S. economy. They view the level of

government regulatory activity in sectors like agriculture, garments and textiles as totally inadequate:

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration acts within a narrow cost-benefit calculus that leads it to focus on high-hazard industries or serious violations where there may be imminent danger. In practice, this means that there is virtually no surveillance of the "low-risk" industries where immigrants congregate. (Waldinger, 1980:19)

Of course, the same could be said of government enforcement of minimum wage and fair labor standards laws, except where state agencies have mounted intensive enforcement efforts concentrated in particular cities.⁵

The empirical evidence bearing on the feasibility of these two divergent public policy responses to the contemporary immigration phenomenon is quite thin. "Employer sanctions" legislation already on the books in twelve U.S. states has had a negligible impact upon the hiring of undocumented workers, and on the basis of this record, the impact of a federal statute of this type is certainly questionable (Calavita and Schwartz, 1983). In fact, there is no evidence that any governmental measure in the last 100 years that has been taken to restrict Mexican entry into the U.S. labor market has had any appreciable depressant effect on the underlying, structural U.S. employer demand for Mexican labor. The burden of proof remains on those who argue that this situation can be altered dramatically, in the short-to-medium run, at least at a cost that would be politically, economically, or morally acceptable to a majority of the U.S. public.

⁵For a report on such an effort in Los Angeles, see Joe Razo, "Statement of Joe Razo, Director of the Concentrated Enforcement Program, Division of Labor Standards Enforcement, State of California, before the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, February 5, 1980," in *U.S. Immigration Policy and the National Interest: Appendix E to the Staff Report of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy: Papers on Illegal Migration to the United States* (Washington, D.C., April, 1981), pp. 243-256.

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Research On Mexican Immigration

Gilbert Cardenas

Introduction

Among the interesting outcomes arising from interest in Mexican migration are the varieties of research and the proliferation of literature on the subject. In 1973 the Population Research Center in conjunction with the Center for Mexican American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin sponsored a conference on the "Demographic Study of the Mexican American Population." This conference was significant in at least two respects. The conference pointed to the importance of studying the demography of the Chicano population and identified crucial conceptual and methodological issues related to this demographic research. Secondly, given the very nature of the conference, the problem of migration from Mexico was posed as a central question pertaining to the demographic study of the Chicano population.

Migration as a topic in the demographic study of the Chicano population has been until recently overshadowed by the national political debate

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over undocumented reaction. The Stanford Symposium on Work, Family and Migration again offers an opportunity to re-engage in an assessment of the bearing of migration on the demography of the Chicano population. The conference mandated that presentations be organized around the following six questions:

1. What are the major conceptual approaches or theoretical perspectives that presently guide Chicano research on the specific topic?
2. What are the major methodological approaches currently utilized by researchers in the field?
3. What are the major shortcomings and problem areas that exist in the current literature in the field?
4. What important areas will become — or should become — the focal point in future research in the area?
5. What are the prospects for interdisciplinary research in this topic?
6. How can basic social research affect informed public policy formation?

At first impression one would think that the mandate was timely and certainly needed. At the same time, however, one could also get the impression that the conference mandate was too ambitious. In the past ten years there have been major migration conferences and symposia covering each of the above listed topics.¹

It was pleasing to hear that Professor Wayne Cornelius and Professor Marta Tienda were invited to present on Mexican immigration and internal migration respectively.

Comments: W. Cornelius, "Competing Paradigms for the Study of Mexican Immigration"

The first paper by Professor Cornelius entitled "Competing Paradigms for the Study of Mexican Immigration," unfortunately, at least from the standpoint of a discussant, was not presented by Cornelius.²

¹Rockefeller meetings; Smithsonian Institution; UCSB; Brookings; Colegio de Mexico, etc.

²Conflicting schedules prevented Professor Cornelius from attending the symposium. The paper was read by Leo Chavez, a research associate at the Center for U.S. Mexican Studies.

Cornelius' paper covered two of the six areas—conceptual perspectives and the interplay between public policy and basic social research. The other areas were either ignored totally or at best only lightly covered. I am not certain if any one paper or book of all the literature on Mexican immigration together could accomplish the task of adequately handling all six areas. What is important at least from the viewpoint of a discussant, however, is that no effort was made by Cornelius to address questions 2, 3, 4, and 5 cited above. Very definitely, the paper does not in the least address methodological approaches nor does it point to shortcomings and problem areas that exists in the current literature. Similarly, the paper does not examine nor point to areas that are likely to become focal points for research; nor does it examine the prospects for interdisciplinary research. Thus evaluating Cornelius' paper against the symposium mandate one could only conclude that it does not cover the topic areas evenly. Nowhere in the paper does Cornelius suggest that he would attempt to cover all these areas. More importantly, he specifically states that he would focus on the basic differences between the two competing paradigms that he feels "guides the work of most U.S. scholars specializing in international labor migration" and try to "outline some implications of adopting one or the other as a basis for public policy making in the United States."

The coverage of these two areas however, is limited to a focus on the scholarly and political perspectives concerning the international labor migration. It would indeed be a grand oversimplification to suggest that this focus, either by design or in fact, covers the major conceptual and theoretical perspectives on international migration. The paper clearly does not do this. It is one thing to delineate major conceptual and theoretical perspectives on a subject area and still another to cover one major topic area—the scholarly and political perspective concerning international labor migration. It would be an error to suggest that the contrast between the competing paradigms is equivalent to the theoretical conceptual study of Mexican immigration.

By reducing the discussion of the major conceptual and theoretical perspectives to two competing paradigms—the "superfluous labor" paradigm and the "structural dependence" paradigm—numerous problems arise.

If one were merely interested in illustrating differences in perspectives concerning the politics of international labor migration, then it would be fair to conclude that the distinction between the "superfluous labor" and

the "structural dependent" paradigms would be, despite some problems, an adequate way of organizing an analysis.

At one point, the politics of international labor migration as a subject area was almost completely ignored by social scientists and policymakers, or was mistakenly perceived as a unrelated endeavor independent of the political question of migration. Professor Cornelius, among others, was among the earliest scholars, and perhaps one of the most important, to view the politics of international labor migration as an integral component of the current issues over labor migration from Mexico. Academics and policymakers alike resisted initially and only begrudgingly acknowledged the political basis of Mexican migration. However, the study of the *politics* of international labor migration is not identical to the *study* of international labor migration. It seems that the study of international labor migration has become increasingly and inadvertently synonymous with the study of the politics of international labor migration. Although Professor Cornelius, has unrelentingly pushed academics and policymakers to recognize the political questions that bare on migration research, he is not among those individuals that now confuse the study of the politics of migration with the study of migration itself. However, if Cornelius claims that the contrast between the two competing paradigms covers the major conceptual and theoretical perspectives in the field, then one could argue that it could only be so if the study of the politics of international labor migration were viewed as identical to the study of international migration. This, in fact, appears to be the view the author is implicitly accepting.

I do not accept the claim that social scientists are disinterested in politics and that their work is value free, yet a lot of demographic work can be grouped into one or the other paradigms that Cornelius' posits. I think it would be an oversimplification to reduce all work into one or the other paradigms. In my opinion, one of the problems with some research and literature is that not enough of it takes a solid position. However, I would not dismiss this work nor would I feel comfortable in placing it in one political perspective or another.

Now what about that research that departs from an explicit political position such as a Marxist or some variation of a neo-Marxist position? In the past ten years some important work in migration studies has been done that either has been heavily influenced by Marxist thinking or that explicitly follows a Marxist analysis. There are very important aspects in Cornelius' description of both paradigms that would fit into a Marxist

framework in analyzing international migration that would appear to be incongruous, if not, contradictory to Cornelius' two paradigm dichotomy.

Similarly it would be erroneous to suggest that scholars operating under the "structural dependence" paradigm would by definition argue that "labor supply is still the major constraint on U.S. economic growth" and that adequate rates of growth is dependent upon the availability of a large foreign labor pool in the U. S. While some proponents may argue this position, there are many others who would object to this assertion. The requirement for needed labor could possibly be fulfilled by immigration, a classic means of re-constituting the available labor force. It is a completely different thing to suggest that replenishment will depend upon the availability of a large foreign labor pool in the U.S. The very concept, "foreign labor pool" is repugnant to many proponents of the structural dependence paradigm, not only because of the past experience of foreign workers in this country, but also because of the many implications that the idea of labor pool suggests, (i.e., race-specific targeting in the labor market and labor market discrimination).

The distinction between "domestic" labor and "foreign" labor as used by Cornelius is a popular, yet erroneous distinction. The confusion stems from the concepts of "domestic" and "foreign" workers. The domestic labor force can and does, for example, include many workers of foreign origin. On the other hand, "foreign" labor, has a more restricted meaning, referring primarily to workers who are used temporarily and who circulate between their countries of origin and the U.S. labor markets.

While it is true that "structural dependence" theorists do not blame immigrants but the federal government for the general trend toward erosion of labor standards in some sectors of the U.S. economy, they are equally, if not more adamantly, concerned about the role that the private sector has had on the federal government and the resulting adverse affects on migrants. In this regard one could argue that many scholars subscribe to the "superfluous" paradigm have been more vocal and critical of the role of the private sector than those in the "structural dependent" paradigm. It seems that there is no incompatibility between scholars in the "structural dependent" paradigm and blistering criticism of the private sector and the federal government. One should not ignore all together the oppressive role of the private sector for it is at the heart of the problem for Mexican migrants on both sides of the border.

Summary

The primary focus of Cornelius' paper is the politics of international labor migration, i.e., distinction between the "superfluous labor" paradigm and the "structural dependent" paradigm. The approaches are characterized by Cornelius as the "We Don't Really Need Them" paradigm, and what one might call by extension, as the "We Really Need Them" paradigm. This distinction is too simplistic since it obscures much work on the politics of migration. To use the distinction would also imply that the politics of labor migration are synonymous to the study of labor migration. Many of the differences in the theoretical and conceptual perspective on international labor migration would be obscured if one were to accept Cornelius' categories without reservation. Finally, some characterizations in each of the paradigms is also debatable. Chief among these in Cornelius' use of the concept of labor pool, role of private sector, and relative concern about worker exploitation.

PART IV

Chicano Research and Public Policy

**Hispanic Underrepresentation
in the Federal Bureaucracy:
The Missing Link
in the Policy Process**

Harry P. Pachon

Despite the unprecedented advances that have been made by Chicano, Puerto Rican, and other Hispanic groups in articulating the policy concerns of the Hispanic community at the national level, Hispanic input into the federal domestic policy-making process continues to be minimal or missing altogether. Groups such as the Forum of National Hispanic Organizations, the National Council of La Raza (NCLR), the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO), the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF) and others have made Hispanic concerns known in specific public policy areas

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such as the census, bilingual education, the voting rights act, immigration and other high visibility issues that are most commonly associated with this community. Yet, the issues that are most closely identified with the Hispanic community are few when compared to the myriad number of policy issues that Congress and the federal executive consider every year—year in and year out.¹ What about these other issues? How is the Hispanic community faring in regard to them? Let us consider some examples:

1. While details of the 1984 budget are now known, as of this date very little is known on how this budget (outside of bilingual education) will affect the Hispanic community.
2. In the development of new legislation affecting AFDC families, Hispanic input has been nil in the present administration.
3. When the past administration proposed its national urban policy initiative to Congress, Hispanic input was almost totally absent throughout the entire policy development process.
4. When welfare reform was being considered in the late 1970s, there was no Hispanic representation in the Bureau that was mainly responsible for its development. (Income Security Policy, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of HEW.) This occurred in spite of the fact that 12 percent of the low-income families in the U.S. that would have been affected by this proposal were Hispanic.

A commonly cited reason on the lack of Hispanic input in these cases is the relative recentness of arrival of Hispanic interest groups at the national level. Most political observers would agree that it wasn't until the late 1960s that a handful of individuals began articulating national Hispanic concerns. From this period to today, the number and breadth of Hispanic organizations at the national level has grown impressively. However, their numbers are still few and their resources limited. Those organizations which are active in attempting to influence the policy process, e.g., LULAC, NALEO,

¹For example, in the 96th Congress, 613 Public Laws were passed encompassing 3,000 pages of legislation. The House of Representatives alone considered and passed 1,167 bills. Source: Congressional Reference Service.

NCLR, have either one or two person operations in Washington, or are able to only allocate portions of their resources to the time-consuming task of legislative and executive lobbying. In contrast, other ethnic organizations such as the Urban League, the NAACP, the American Jewish Committee, with their million dollar budgets, their large staffs, and their decades of history, indicate the relative disparity of organizational development and political influence of the Hispanic community vis-a-vis other ethnic groups.

Besides the lack of organized political influence, another factor accounting for the lack of Hispanic input – and frequently less cited – is that, for many federal policy makers, “minority” still means Black. “Race” means either Black or White. Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other Hispanics who do not fit into this biracial perspective are either ignored or assumed to be the same as Black Americans. The result quite often is an attempt to meet the needs of all minority groups with the same remedy, or, to assume that Hispanic needs have been met because other minority communities’ needs have been addressed.

This biracial perspective and lack of awareness of the Hispanic community among public policy makers are due not only to the community’s lack of political influence, but also the fact that Hispanics are absent from the standing bureaucracies that are so responsible for setting the parameters for domestic public policy. It is the thesis of this presentation that Hispanic underrepresentation in the federal bureaucracies is the critical missing link that is often overlooked in attempting to explain this community’s lack of impact on the policy process.

This is understandable, however, since acknowledging that the standing bureaucracies are significantly involved in the political side of the policy process is a concept that most Americans shy away from. There is still the Wilsonian notion that American public bureaucracies – at the federal, state and local levels – are non-political organizations that administer policies passed by politicians. Thus, while the media and the public give great attention to the passage of public laws by Congress, much less attention is paid to a *Notice of Proposed Rulemaking* or final promulgation of regulations in the *Federal Register*. Yet, policy analysts and administrators in the various domestic departments, and of course in the Office of Management and Budget, are critically involved in making decisions that affect all Americans. Several reasons are acknowledged²

²See, Laurence Lynn, *Managing the Public’s Business*, (New York: Basic Books, 1981), and Kenneth Meier, *Politics and the Bureaucracy*, (North Scituate: Duxbury Press, 1979).

as accounting for the importance of the bureaucracy in the policy process. When public policy is legislated by Congress, policy goals are set forth in the most general of terms. Interpretation and operationalizing of such terms as the "needy," "a household," and "the family," are left in the hands of agency bureaucrats. The very characteristics that the public negatively associates with governmental bureaucracies—knowledge of routine, expert specialization, in-depth understanding of obscure regulations—are the factors that enable members of the bureaucracy to be in such commanding positions in determining the parameters of public policy. Development of this type of expert knowledge is critical when one considers that many domestic policy issues are "techno-bureaucratic" in nature. Specifically, techno-bureaucratic issues are ones involving complex policy and implementation considerations that are not subject to quick and easy solutions (or understanding). For example:

1. Where should a "cap" on benefits be placed on welfare families and their children? Should a ceiling on benefits be placed after a certain number of children? If so, how many?
2. What should the formula be for determining a state's allocation of emergency energy relief funds? Should frost belt states be treated differently than sunbelt states? If so, to what degree?

Techno-bureaucratic questions like these are ones that federal agency officials wrestle with every day. Yet, these same officials have a startling lack of information on the Hispanic community. Historically, they have failed to ask the question, "How does policy X impact on the Hispanic community?" Currently, they are still continuing to overlook the Hispanic community's characteristics of large extended families, bilingualism and biculturalism, and the implications of these factors to federal policies and programs.

How does one measure this lack of representation in the bureaucratic policy process? A simple percentage of Hispanic employment in government, or in any agency, is not a valid statistic of the group's representation or its lack thereof in the policy-making process.³ The Social Security

³Hispanic employment increased 8/10th of one (1) percent from the years 1969 to 1979. At this rate of increase it will take to the year 2025 before Hispanic employment in the federal government reaches parity in correspondence to the present proportion of Hispanics in the nation.

Administration, for example, has one of the highest percentages of Hispanics in any governmental agency, yet, a great number of them are concentrated at the case or street worker level. A more accurate statistic would be to determine what numbers or percentages of Hispanics are at present significant policy-making levels within a department or within key agencies in a department.⁴ Adopting this approach makes one focus on the highest level of the federal bureaucracy, the Senior Executive Service (SES). The SES, formed during the Carter Administration, is the highest level of career government employment. Although there are over three and one half million government employees, there are, by legislative mandate, less than 7,500 SES positions. Typically, SES positions are considered the elite, top management and policy-related positions in any agency. Hispanics comprise 7.8 percent of the population, yet according to the U.S. Office of Personnel Management, the community's representation in this corps of bureaucrats is 1.7 percent. Out of the 6,736 SES positions, less than 70 were held by Hispanics in 1982.

Other key positions in the federal bureaucracy—most notably in the domestic departments—are social science analytic and program evaluation positions. These slots are ones designated as analytic positions within a department or an agency and are ones charged for conceptualizing and analyzing agency programs and utilizing applied social science research for determining program effectiveness. Out of 16,064 such positions in the government, only 440 (2.7%) are held by Hispanics. Thus, the previously stated question, "How does program X affect the Hispanic community", may not be foremost in many analytic agendas.

Underrepresentation by occupational category, however, is but one measure of the Hispanic presence in the bureaucracy. One could argue that

⁴This measure represents the *potential* for Hispanic representation in the policy process. Of course there are cases where ethnic bureaucrats refuse (consciously or unconsciously) to identify with their community. Conversely, there are majority bureaucrats who have done exemplary jobs in addressing minority concerns. The literature on this subject, i.e., representative bureaucracy, strongly indicates that minority representation in the civil service fulfills both the normative democratic goal of group representation in the political system as well as the utilitarian goal of minority input in the policy process. See, David Rosenbloom, "Representative Bureaucracy: Still Controversial After All These Years?", a paper presented at the panel of the American political Science Association annual meeting, Washington, D.C., August, 1979. Also, Meier and Nigro, "Representative Bureaucracy and Policy Preferences", *Public Administration Review*, 69 (July/August, 1976), pp. 458-469.

it is as important to have Hispanics in key governmental agencies, regardless of their position, as it is to have them in specific positions. If one examines policy and analytic units and overall policy-making agencies, such as the Office of Management and Budget, one finds a similar picture of Hispanic underrepresentation. For example, in the office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health and Human Services, out of 150 employees, one is Hispanic. In similar counterpart agencies, the record is much the same. In the Office of Planning, Budgeting and Evaluation, Department of Education, there are no Hispanics. In the Office for Policy Development and Research, Department of Housing and Urban Development, there are no Hispanics. Finally, in the Office of Management and Budget, the office most closely associated with the President, there are four Hispanics out of 950 staff members.

If one looks at the legislative bureaucracy, Hispanic underrepresentation is also the rule. For example, on the House Appropriations Sub-Committees for the Department of Health, Human Services, Education, Labor, and Housing and Urban Development, there are no Hispanics. In the counterpart authorization committees, there are also no Hispanics. In Congress as a whole, there are 70 (0.3%) out of 20,000 staff members.

What has been the response from the federal government in attempting to increase Hispanic presence in the policy process? In the 1960s and 1970s, the first response (besides affirmative action) was to meet the needs of Hispanic representation through structural reform. Specifically, this took the response of instituting offices or agencies whose purpose was to articulate the needs and concerns of the Hispanic community. The Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for Spanish-Speaking Americans exemplified this response on a government-wide basis. At the departmental level, its counterparts were the Hispanic Concerns offices, such as the ones established in the Departments of Education and Housing and Urban Development. The attempt to overcome the problem of Hispanic underrepresentation in the policy process by establishing these advocacy offices was, in hindsight, doomed to failure. Although the personnel in these offices often did a tremendous job in articulating the Hispanic concerns (for example, note the record of the Division of Spanish Surnamed Americans within the office of the Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health, Education and Welfare), these offices never became established actors in the policy process. Many factors worked against them (e.g., inadequate staffing, placement outside the regular stream of

departmental decisionmaking, being looked down upon by personnel from other offices), which contributed to their ineffectiveness in meeting their objectives.⁵

Besides structural reforms, another response in meeting the need for Hispanic representation at the federal level has been every administration's attempt, since John F. Kennedy, to appoint highly visible Hispanic political appointees. Beginning with Kennedy, reaching a highpoint with President Carter, and continuing with President Reagan's administrations have played the traditional ethnic political game of publicizing Hispanic appointees. These appointees (some more than others) have labored to do the double job of serving as a political appointee with a specific responsibility, e.g., Assistant Secretary, and also serving as the policy access points for Hispanic community concerns. Many individuals, such as Fernando Oaxaca, during President Ford; William Medina and Bambi Cardenas, under President Carter; and many current Hispanic appointees in the present Administration, have all tried to fulfill these dual functions. Yet, political appointees, as a group, face certain problems. Endemic to appointees is the length of time it takes to learn the responsibilities of a new position. An old Washington dictum states that it takes weeks to simply get to know all the acronyms in an agency. Political appointees do not begin to participate in the every-day policy decisions until well into their appointments. Even then, the time they can devote to techno-bureaucratic matters is limited, given the variety of functions they have to fulfill. Finally, the nature of a political appointment means political appointees often do not remain in office long enough to become effective. In the cases where political appointees overcome these obstacles, they become highly influential. For example, there is no doubt that the initial push for implementing the Roybal Act (P.L. 94-311, "Better Social Statistics for Hispanics") came, in part, from Fernando Oaxaca's leadership at OMB. It is also not a coincidence that the national Hispanic Housing Coalition began at HUD when Dr. William Medina was HUD's Assistant Secretary for Management. Yet, these are exceptions.

While political appointees come and go, the permanent bureaucracy remains, continuing to develop its institutional memory and often being the

⁵The author is indebted to Victor Vasquez, former director of the Division of Spanish Surnamed Americans, Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, for having so freely shared his insights into the history of these offices.

only actor that has the expertise to critically outline all policy options and their past history.

The shortcomings of federal responses to institutionalized Hispanic input in the policy process highlights a central theme of this paper. The long-range solution to institutionalizing Hispanic concerns in the policy process of federal agencies is to increase Hispanic representation in these offices. One realizes that this policy representation raises the spectre of resurrecting the "quota" or an affirmative action system which has been so unpopular in this country. Yet, it is highly suspect that all of these bureaucracies have not been able to recruit or retain qualified Hispanic employees. Given this dismal record, one can argue that the burden of proof falls upon these agencies in documenting how they have been, and continue to be, responsive to the Hispanic community, lacking any Hispanic representation themselves.

What can Chicano, Puerto Rican, and other Hispanic academics do about this situation which, after all, is the focus of this symposium? It is first necessary to realize that Hispanic academics are in a critical position to have some impact on the present situation. If one acknowledges that the experiential knowledge of the policy process is valuable, then it should follow that Hispanic students and academics who are interested in politics and the policy process be encouraged for internships and participatory experiences in state capitals and in Washington, D.C. The Congressional Hispanic Caucus, for example, has a semester fellowship where graduate students are placed in standing committees of the House of Representatives, such as the Appropriations Committee, the Housing Committee, and Committee on Agriculture. Hispanic organizations such as the National Council of La Raza, have, in the past, had federal internships. Other organizations such as the American Political Science Association (APSA), and the Institute for Educational Leadership (IEL), have established fellowship programs for academics. Aside from experiential opportunities, government service needs to be emphasized as a potential career for Hispanic students. Despite present budgetary cutbacks, the continued growth of the federal and state governments has been a fact of life for the past quarter of a century. Hispanic undergraduate and graduate students need to be aware that government service offers rewarding and challenging careers for them to consider. Hispanic faculty are in a key position to encourage students to become aware of public service opportunities.

Finally, Hispanic academics need to realize that there is a lack of Hispanic perspectives on the policy process at the national level. Academics

need to creatively address the issue of how to overcome current problems that exist by not having representation in the bureaucratic policy processes. For example, there are other means of having an impact on the technobureaucratic policy issues. Publishing policy-oriented literature, for example, is still an appropriate means of having such impact. Popular articles, such as Op-Ed columns in national and major metropolitan newspapers (which, unfortunately, do not earn points in the tenure process) are critical in shaping public policy.

Hispanic underrepresentation in the federal government will continue most likely through the upcoming decade. Until the Hispanic community fully addresses this issue, it will too often be the case that the Hispanic community will be in a reactive position on major domestic policy issues instead of being an active participant in the domestic policy process that is so relevant to our communities.

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Public Policy Development and the Chicano Community

Raul Yzaguirre

With your indulgence, I would like to approach my subject more from the standpoint of a practitioner and less from the vantage point of a scholar. Consequently, my paper will be sparse in terms of documented citations. It will have to depend largely on my experiences for any claim of validity.

Therefore my paper lacks the disinterested objectivity of an empirical observer, but this shortcoming will hopefully be compensated by the reality of an active participant, although the distinction between pure scholars of public policy and active participants in the formulation of said policy is becoming somewhat blurred. I consider this a healthy development.

Let me begin the discussion by postulating an axiom: there is little in the way of public policy that does not affect the Chicano community, but conversely there is little in the way of public policy that *has* been impacted by the Chicano community. My stress on the "has" part of the axiom

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represents my congenital optimism for the future but should not detract from my essentially pessimistic judgment of what we have been able to accomplish in the past.

I do not believe that I will have a difficult time in "proving" the validity of the aforementioned premise to this audience. The fact is that all public policy in either a major or a minor way impacts on our community. It is also an incontrovertible truth that we have lacked the ingredients to shape public policy in such a way as to maximize its positive impact on our people or to minimize the negative consequences, although our limited successes have been more in the latter than in the former.

Speaking of successes, my own impression is that some of our Hispanic organizations have been successful in effecting programmatic policies beneficial to their institutional interest, but that we rarely are successful in accomplishing the adoption of broader policies that benefit our whole community. A couple of examples might illustrate the point.

When the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) was enacted, our largest employment and training institution succeeded in getting its name included in the legislation. That was an important institutional victory. But the broader issue of targeting programs to our community was lost. In fact, our community received proportionately less dollars under CETA than under the old Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) that the legislations replaced. The one section under CETA Title III, Limited English-speaking Targeting which addressed our needs, was largely ignored in both appropriations and most certainly in bureaucratic implementation.

Perhaps then, one possible contribution that I could make to the discussion of public policy and the Chicano community would be in sharing with you my impressions as to why we have been so singularly unsuccessfully in influencing public policy. Undoubtedly, some of my observations will be obvious to this body; others may not be so readily ascertainable.

Lack of Voting Strength

During the 1976 Presidential election, the word came to those of us who were trying to inject Chicano/Hispanic issues into the national debate, that the White House had decided that since all Hispanic voters represented only slightly better than one percent of the voters, we would get only that much attention. That rumor may or may have not been true, but

the subsequent actions of the Ford Administration during the campaign certainly gave credence to that report.

The fact remains that our low registration and voter turn-out rate is a major obstacle in obtaining influence in the public policy development process. This reality, however, is not immutable or preordained. It is simply a logical result of such factors as a low median age (at least 20 years, the lowest in the nation), a large percentage of legal aliens who have not elected to become naturalized citizens, as well as some undocumented workers, political jurisdiction gerrymandering which makes it very difficult if not impossible to win local elections, and the all-too-real legacy of oppression that has discouraged many Chicano would-be voters from developing a culture of participation. One must also consider the corrosive influence of poverty and discrimination; these factors have a negative impact on the voting participation rates of all communities.

Lack of Strong Institutions

Historically, every movement has consolidated its power and influence through the development of strong, stable, and viable institutions. This is true of Blacks, labor, Jews, liberals, conservatives, and religious ideologies.

Institutions are all-important in order to bring about a consensus of positions, to legitimize leadership, to frame the issues, to mobilize constituencies at critical moments, and to publicize and explain the issues to the larger community. Without strong and viable institutions it is difficult to see how one can make progress. Institutions can also do some very basic things like rewarding friends and punishing enemies.

Lack of Economic Support

In this society, money is the elixir that makes things happen. Money and influence go together like bees and honey. It is no coincidence that a trade union will always make the union dues check-off and the union shop the first priorities. Institutions need a financial base in order to become viable. Without a financial base the broader goals are difficult to pursue.

It is not absolutely necessary that the affected community itself must have financial resources; it is only essential that the Chicano community find ways of attracting funds.

The Black community is a good example. Statistically, Blacks have proportionately less income than Chicanos, although since the census data

ignores certain transfer payments and subsidies as well as unreported income, this may not be entirely true. Nevertheless, Blacks have institutions that are overwhelmingly better financed than Chicano/Hispanic entities. The difference, of course, is that Blacks have been able to gain significantly greater support from the larger community. For many reasons, the discussion of which are beyond the scope of this paper, Chicanos and other Hispanics have not been able to match that accomplishment.

Lack of Data/Research on Chicanos

Many observers were somewhat surprised at the high priority that we gave to an accurate census count of Hispanics. In the last decennial count, there was a major effort by every Hispanic organization, most Hispanic politicians, and most grass-root leaders to get the best count possible.

Instinctively, we knew that part of our problem was that we were an invisible minority and that the problems that we faced were not being statistically highlighted. Consequently, the goal of an accurate census became paramount.

But the census is only one dimension, however important, of a much greater need to understand *in measurable terms* the nature of our problems, our poverty, as well as our potential strength. Unfortunately in this society, a problem does not exist until it is quantified. Chicano writers tend to focus on understanding the reality of our existence by illuminating the hurt and personalizing the experiences. Anglo policymakers are only interested in comparative numbers. We need both. Yet, in spite of P.L. 94 311, the so-called Roybal Amendment, most federal agencies still fail to collect, aggregate, analyze, and report data on Hispanics as a separate group.

Lack of Media Attention

It would be difficult to overstate the pervasive influence of the media in shaping public policy. Explicit and subliminal messages are transmitted through the media and collectively these messages become the perceived reality. If the media shaped only the perceptions of Anglos as to the Chicano reality, that would be reason enough for us to be very concerned about its influence. But the fact is that the media tend to shape our own self-perceptions. We too often trust the printed word and the television screen more than we do our own experiences.

Hispanics are almost invisible in the media—indeed, we have a miniscule number of Hispanics working in radio and television or on large daily

6
newspapers. This is true even in public broadcasting. In January 1981, the Public Broadcasting System had just three Hispanics, only one of them a professional, out of a staff of 261—just 1.1%. Only two public TV stations out of 471—0.4%—had Hispanics on their governing boards. American Hispanics own not a single VHF commercial TV station. Hispanics have minimal media participation, except as consumers. This vacuum helps explain the lack of adequate media coverage of our community.

Lack of Hispanic Public Officials

Last—but certainly not least—public policy is set by public officials, elected and appointed. And Chicanos are severely underrepresented in both categories, at the national, state, and local levels. This is a “derivative” problem, occurring because of the factors named above.

There are only five Hispanic voting members of Congress—four Chicanos and one Puerto Rican. Hispanics are at least 6.4% of the population, but just 0.9% of Congressmembers. The Lieutenant Governor of New Mexico is currently the only Hispanic statewide-elected Chicano official in the Southwest. This, of course, will change with the 1982 election.

Our statistics are even worse for appointed officials. There has never been a Chicano cabinet member. Only 1% of “supergrade” federal employees were Hispanic as of June 30, 1981. Hispanic federal employees tend to be concentrated at the lower grade levels—in 1979, Hispanics were 7.3% of GS-2's, 4.1% of GS-7's, and 1.7% of GS-15's.

We need to be in policy-making positions if we are to affect public policy, and with the current cutbacks the trend is towards fewer, not more, Chicano appointed officials. (A recent Congressional Task Force found that minorities and women were rifed—laid off—at 3 1/2 times the rate of white males.)

I know that we could add other factors as contributing items to our historical lack of influence in shaping public policy, but I believe this covers the most important ones. (I am tempted, for example, also to cite geography as a negative factor. If the Capitol of the United States were located somewhere in the Southwest, we would probably have more impact).

For standardization and simplicity, I listed the aforementioned factors in terms of “lack of”. Reality is not quite so neat. The truth is that in some of these areas there is some movement, but more often than not, of the negative kind.

For example, there has been some modicum of interest in doing evaluation research on the effectiveness of bilingual education as a pedagogical tool for dealing with limited English-speaking children. The most famous or infamous study was the AIR (American Institute for Research) report funded by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Our own analysis of this report revealed some significant flaws and some unsupported conclusions—namely, that bilingual education did not improve a child's scholastic achievement. At that point, a Chicano issue did get a great deal of publicity. *The Washington Post*, the *New York Times*, the weekly news magazines, and the network news were very quick to pick up on that one. Our own rebuttals were carried in the back pages under "Letters to the Editor".

Conclusions

The synergistic interplay of these factors is what makes the difference. In other words, gains in one area will enable us to make gains in other areas. It is not absolutely essential that all the factors be in place in order to make an impact on public policy, but there is a minimum threshold that must be passed. For example, the number of Jewish votes actually cast is probably smaller than Hispanic votes, but the ability of Jews to influence both domestic and foreign policy is significantly higher because they are not lacking in other factors. (Jewish population and voter turnout is, in fact, significantly decreasing.)

It is important also to add the dimension of quality and effectiveness to the ingredients that I have enumerated. Our institutions, for example, could be well-funded and stable and yet incompetent. Our political participation could surpass the national norm, yet be so incoherent and disunited as to negate its impact. The amount of research on our issues could significantly increase, without any appreciable difference if it was methodologically unreliable or simply irrelevant.

Speaking of quality, one aspect of our political development worries me a great deal. I have tried to develop a historical sense of how other movements have developed and consolidated their gains. I am struck, for example, by the fact that practically every Black elected official in this country had at least some, and more often a great deal of involvement in civil rights. As I look at our own publicly elected officials, the majority did not have that type of involvement. Their backgrounds tend to be mirrored images of traditional candidates. I am encouraged by the fact that the new generation of Chicano politicians has had more experience in civil rights.

Of the factors that I have enumerated as having an impact on public policy, the one that is of greatest interest to scholars is the question of research. For that reason, I would like to spend some time elaborating on research on Chicanos and its impact on public policy.

Let me begin with the good news. The good news is that there is a hunger "out there" for research (and I am defining research very broadly) on Chicanos and other Hispanics. The huge demand that we get for copies of the work that we generate at the National Council of La Raza is indicative of a tremendous interest. Several universities, the latest being the University of Chicago, are belatedly setting up centers to study Chicanos and other Hispanics. We are clearly a growth industry.

I believe that we can safely predict that for a number of reasons the amount of research on Chicanos and Hispanics will significantly increase. I wish I could also tell you that this increase will result in public policy that will be more beneficial to Chicanos. Unfortunately, that does not necessarily follow.

Even when the rationale for policy changes is clearly established by research findings, there may be very significant countervailing interests that impede change. In other words, in many areas of public policy affecting Chicanos, beneficial change cannot take place without research, but research by itself will not necessarily make the difference.

One major reason why the relationship between research and public policy has become even more tenuous is that the very philosophical foundations for responsiveness have been eroded, at least at the federal level, by the new administration. In other words, even if needs and solutions can be well established by research, a responsive public policy will not be forthcoming when government abdicates any role or responsibility for redress.

Another concern that we have is the nature of the research being done on or for Chicanos. There seems to be a lack of public policy orientation in much of the research that we review. This is what we call the "so what" test. The question of relevancy is what I am trying to underscore here. We find that too many very good Chicano researchers lack any sensitivity to, much less training in, public policy analysis. Moreover, the Chicanos with graduate degrees in public policy analysis are few and far between. (We estimate a maximum of 25).

One factor that causes a great deal of frustration to those of us who attempt to impact on public policy is the question of timeliness. Research

may be relevant and methodologically unassailable, but it may become available after the fact. Therefore, our ability to anticipate the timing of public debates becomes very important. Often we have to sacrifice empirical purity for timely usefulness; "quick and dirty" studies at critical times are infinitely more valuable to us than more refined products that come out a year after policy has been enacted.

So far I have been talking about research on Chicanos without focusing too much on who does the researching and whether or not that makes a difference. It is important to have Chicano researchers because Chicanos are more apt to do Chicano research. But there are more important reasons than that for our desire to get more Chicanos involved in doing research on Chicanos.

A primary reason is that Chicanos are in the best position to *frame the questions*. Framing the right questions is important not only because that says something about the relative importance of the issue or phenomenon being researched, but also because subtle and often negative biases can occur from the very beginning. Moreover, there is no such thing as "policy-neutral" or "objective" research. There are only conscious and unconscious, stated and hidden biases. We believe that Chicano involvement in the framing of research issues and questions is necessary to ensure a counterbalancing of perspectives and biases.

My personal opinion is that who actually does the research (i.e., data collection) is relatively less important, with a couple of caveats. The exceptions include those instances where Chicanos are being asked very sensitive questions. A study we did on police use of deadly force was accomplishable to a significant degree because a Chicano as well as an Anglo, was asking the questions and—even more important—because it was a Hispanic organization that was doing the research.

The other caveat deals with language difficulties. Even fluent Spanish-speaking Anglos can sometimes miss the nuances of meaning from Chicano respondents.

But by far the most important involvement of Chicanos in Chicano research is in terms of analysis and interpretation of results. I am continually amazed at how often my own interpretation of the very same data differs so markedly from Anglo researchers or policy-makers.

One very simplistic example might illustrate my point. Shortly after the Reagan administration took office, Dr. Terrell Bell, the Secretary

of the Department of Education, withdrew the proposed Lau regulations promoting bilingual education that had been proposed by the previous administration. Immediately there was a major controversy. Most newspapers editorially supported the decision.

Subsequently, the *New York Times* commissioned a study designed to find out what kind of education Hispanic parents wanted for their children. They published their results and interpreted the data as showing that Hispanics did not support bilingual education and, in fact, had a wide range of opinion as to the best education for their children. I looked at the same data and came to a very different conclusion. My conclusion was that 80% of the people surveyed were against what the schools were teaching, i.e., monolingual education in English, and conversely only about 20% were for the status quo. I also made what I thought was a logical conclusion that the approximate 20% of the 80% figure who wanted monolingual education in Spanish would much rather have bilingual education than English-only teaching.

I would like to conclude with a simple plea. The gap between researchers and practitioners must be narrowed. I do not mean to argue against research simply for the sake of learning nor do I want to set up a false dichotomy. I simply believe that we can contribute more to our community if we work together.

Public Policy and the Chicano Population

Polly Baca Barragan

The major factors that directly influence public policy formulations affecting the Chicano population are:

1. the body of research available on a particular public policy and its affect upon the Chicano population
2. the degree of awareness of Chicanos and policy makers about said policy and related issues
3. the nature of the relationship of Chicanos to policy makers
4. the resources available to influence public policy formulation, and

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5. the resources available to implement public policy decisions.

The Body of Research

One can live in, work in, or visit a Chicano community anywhere in the Southwestern United States and intuitively sense the problems that exist within that community. But no solutions can or will be found to any of these problems until someone (1) analyzes the existing conditions, (2) identifies the problems, (3) gathers the data to substantiate that the problems exist, (4) proposes alternatives or possible solutions, (5) makes other people aware of both the problems and alternative solutions.

This process of developing the background research about a particular problem or subject matter is the first step in influencing the development of public policy as it affects the Chicano population. It is this step in the process where social scientific research is of the most value.

The degree of immediate value of this research is directly related to the degree that the research is action-oriented. The research that will have the *greatest* value in causing a change in public policy is research that provides a detailed and indepth analysis of the existing conditions with a clear identification and analysis of the specific problems that need to be addressed.

The research should also identify potential solutions to the problems. If the solutions include a need to change public policy, or more specifically stated, public law, then the governmental body responsible for the formulations of that public policy/law must be identified. For example, to solve a school problem like unsafe playgrounds or discrimination by an individual school teacher, one must approach the members of the local Board of Education. City zoning or sewer problems would be addressed by the City Council. Problems related to developing a state policy on bilingual education or hazardous waste dumping would be addressed by the State Legislature. Issues that cross state boundaries, such as civil rights and industry environmental regulations, are best addressed by the U.S. Congress.

When the research causes an awareness of a specific problem beyond the confines of the social scientific community, it can begin the process toward public policy formulation. But care must be taken to assure the development of a *solid* body of research that can withstand the most detailed scrutiny and debate.

The Degree of Awareness

Once a concrete body of research exists defining a specific problem, with proposed solutions, that research must be translated to a form that can be understood by others. The best form would be one that would make the research easy to understand and comprehend. This could include letters, pamphlets, newspaper or magazine articles, TV or radio documentaries, or TV and radio interviews. If it remains but a piece of research on someone's shelf, it will only gather dust—not support for a change in public policy/law.

Public policy or law is rarely changed without a public interest or special interest group becoming interested in changing that public policy. Groups become interested in causing change when they become aware of a problem and believe they can alleviate that problem by changing a public policy.

Awareness of a need to change a public policy can be achieved by making the research available to:

1. a special interest group (such as a Chicano community activist group) that will utilize the information to educate and pressure public policy makers;
2. sensitive media personalities that will use the information to make the general community aware of the problem and proposed solutions;
3. sensitive public officials who will use the information to begin to change the public policy addressed.

It is important that all three avenues be utilized, if possible, to raise the awareness of both the Chicano community and the policy makers about the need to change the public policy. Public policy does not change unless a need to change is clearly established and policy makers become aware of that need. To establish the need for change, one must first fully document the problem(s) with the current policy and its negative effect upon the Chicano population. Supportive data, including solid reasons and supporting arguments, must then be established for the suggested alternatives or solutions.

Relationship of Chicanos to Policy Makers

In any given community, if the Chicano population has little or no relationship to the policy makers, it will be very difficult to influence public

policy formulations affecting the Chicano community. Historically, this has been the most difficult problem for Chicanos to overcome in their attempts to influence public policies.

Public policy makers are either elected officials (i.e., legislators, city council members, mayors, governors, etc.) or persons appointed/hired by elected officials (i.e., department heads, division chiefs, bureaucrats, administrators, etc.). Persons appointed or hired by elected officials are ultimately responsible to that elected official. Therefore, public policy can be most effectively influenced by focusing upon the elected official.

Generally, elected officials are influenced in public policy decisions by:

1. *constituents*, through letters, phone calls, personal visits, etc.;
2. *financial contributors* to their campaign for public office (with influence generally measured in direct proportion to the amount of the contribution);
3. *campaign workers/volunteers*, depending somewhat upon their relationship to the campaign;
4. *personal friendships* and relatives.

If an elected official represents a large Chicano population, it can be usually (but not always) assumed that he will be somewhat sensitive to the effect of public policies upon his Chicano *constituents*. But the constituents must personally make the elected official aware of their preferences in the formulation of public policies by communicating directly to him their concerns in letters, by phone calls, or through personal meetings.

The degree of an elected official's sensitivity to Chicano issues will vary generally in direct proportion to the degree of activity on the part of his Chicano constituents—particularly at the voting booth on Election Day. The degree of activity on the part of the Chicano constituents will usually vary in direct proportion to the degree of their awareness and interest in a specific issue.

The more it costs to run a campaign to be elected to public office, the more influence *financial contributors* will have on an elected official. In small districts, candidates for public office can go door-to-door and present their case for election directly to the individual resident/constituent. But as the districts become larger in population, candidates must spend more money to get elected.

The cost for a candidate to communicate his message increases directly with the number of households he must reach. He will need to spend more on campaign literature (posters, signs, buttons, brochures, stickers, etc.), media advertisements (newspapers, radio, T.V.) and staff resources in larger districts (i.e. statewide offices and Congressional seats). Costs of campaigns range from a few hundred dollars in a small city council election to millions of dollars for a U.S. Senate race. Individuals or Political Action Committees (PACs) that contribute large amounts of money to a candidate in need can depend upon a friendly ear if the candidate is elected to office.

Historically, Chicanos have not had the economic base to make large financial contributions to elected officials and thus gain favor or indebtedness. But as Chicanos increase in economic stature, they are gradually increasing their influence on public policy formulations at the local, state, and national levels. Campaign fundraisers in Chicano communities are becoming more and more popular and profitable. During the 1980 campaign, more money was raised in Chicano communities for President Jimmy Carter than had ever been raised for any previous Presidential candidate.

Candidates can keep the costs of campaigning down if they have a large and talented pool of volunteers. Chicanos can gain the favor of a candidate by working in his campaign as a volunteer or for minimal wages. The payoff comes when the election is won. Chicanos who have carried the greatest amount of influence with an elected official (from city councilman to state legislator to Governor to Congressman to President) are those who have been loyal *campaign workers* (e.g. Alex Armendaris and President Richard Nixon, Rick Hernandez and President Jimmy Carter).

Campaign workers with a particular skill or talent can be a tremendous asset to a candidate. As a direct consequence, a talented and loyal campaign worker can have tremendous influence on the candidate once he is elected to office. That influence could be effectively utilized on behalf of the Chicano community in future public policy decisions.

Elected officials are influenced in public policy decisions by their constituents, financial supporters, campaign workers, but perhaps most important, by their *personal friendships and relatives*. As Chicanos become more involved in the political process, they meet more and more candidates or potential elected officials. Friendships developed before a candidate becomes an important elected official can be very helpful to the Chicano community as a whole. Friends and relatives can definitely influence public policy decisions.

In the final analysis, Chicanos can have the greatest influence on public policy formulations when they become the elected officials. As we enter the decade of the 1980s, Chicanos are still very under-represented as elected officials, but their numbers and influence are gradually increasing.

Hispanic Elected Officials

Currently, there are no Hispanics serving in the U.S. Senate.¹ The last to serve, Senator Joseph Montoya (D-New Mexico), was defeated in 1976. There are only five Hispanic voting members in Congress (four Chicanos and one Puerto Rican) and one non-voting member from Puerto Rico. There has never been an Hispanic President, Vice President, Supreme Court Justice, or Cabinet Secretary. Although there are presently no Hispanic Governors, in the 1970s Jerry Apodaca (D-New Mexico) and Raúl Castro (D-Arizona) both served as Governors of their respective states.

New Mexico is the only state that has elected Chicanos to statewide office. Currently, Roberto Mondragon serves as Lt. Governor, Alex Armijo as Commissioner of Public Lands, Alvino Castillo as State Auditor, and Eric Serna as Chairman of the State Corp. Commission. Out of 7,482 state legislators across the country, only 91 are Hispanic.

Despite this under-representation, the elections to be held in 1982 hold the greatest promise for increasing the number of Chicanos in the U.S. Congress since 1968. Potentially, new Districts could elect Chicanos in Los Angeles, California (2), Corpus Christi, Texas; El Paso, Texas and Northern New Mexico for a grand total of 5 new Congressional seats that could be won by Chicanos.

Resources to Influence Public Policy

It is difficult, but not impossible, to influence public policy formulation without a significant amount of financial resources at your disposal. Money can buy literature, media advertisements, campaign donations, professional lobbyists, and cocktail parties to help persuade elected officials to support

¹Editor's Note: The data presented in this section reflect the status of Hispanic elected officials in March, 1982. Much to her credit, Ms. Baca Barragan predicted the gains made during the 1982 election with remarkable accuracy. The post-1982 election status of Hispanic elected officials is: 9 voting members of Congress (8 Chicanos, 1 Puerto Rican); 2 non-voting members of Congress (1 Puerto Rican, 1 Virgin Islander); 1 governor (State of New Mexico) and 99 state legislators.

a particular public policy change. Money is a very helpful resource in influencing public policy formulations affecting the Chicano population.

But the Chicano community has never had an abundance of money with which to influence elected officials. Therefore, it has had to rely on other resources to influence public policy formulation; specifically, a large volunteer base and the good will of some members of the dominant society.

Chicano volunteers, who are dedicated and well-informed about a particular issue, have proven to be a valuable resource in gaining support to change public policies by:

1. organizing community groups to write letters, make phone calls, or personally visit their elected officials;
2. approaching the media to focus in on the specific need to change a public policy;
3. directly lobbying elected officials; and
4. presenting expert testimony before a legislative committee in support of the public policy change.

When Chicanos have not been able to raise the needed financial resources within their own communities, they have had some limited success at finding sympathetic benefactors in the dominant community. These financial "angels" are rare and need to be treated with care and respect.

Resources to Implement Public Policy Decisions

Once a public policy decision has been made to benefit the Chicano population, it is not the end of the struggle. The implementation of that decision can be difficult to achieve, especially if it will cost money to implement. Non-implementation of a public policy decision can effectively void that decision. Therefore, it is imperative that pressure upon the policy makers be continued to assure implementation.

A Case Study

An example of a Chicano community influencing public policy formulation to the benefit of the Chicano population occurred in Colorado in 1975. In that year, the Colorado State Legislature passed a State Bilingual/Bicultural Education Act that was viewed as one of the most progressive and comprehensive Acts in the nation. But six years later, the same legislative body passed legislation to repeal the Colorado Bilingual/Bicultural Education Act. Unfortunately, this repeal legislation

was *not* vetoed by the same Governor that had signed the original act into law. The following is a summary of the events that led to (1) the passage of the Colorado Bilingual/Bicultural Education Act, and (2) the repeal of the Act after six years.

For generations, Colorado's Chicano population has suffered from a high dropout rate among the school-age population, and a low level of educational achievement. The lack of an educational foundation has contributed to a lower than average economic status for the Chicano community as a whole.

These conditions have been a generally known and accepted fact about the Chicano population for decades. But it was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s that research was conducted to determine *why* Chicano youngsters were not performing well in school. It was during this period of time that the Colorado Chicano Education Project was funded to focus upon finding solutions to the problems of Chicano youngsters in the educational system.

In depth, action-oriented research was conducted. As a direct result of this research, it was determined that a change in public policy was needed. The Colorado educational system needed to change the method it was using to address the educational needs of Chicano youngsters.

As part of the research, it was noted by the Chicano Education Project that pilot bilingual/bicultural education programs funded by the federal government in the Pueblo, Colorado school district were having exceptionally positive results. Dramatic improvements in standardized test scores were seen in families where the younger brothers and sisters had the opportunity to participate in the pilot bilingual/bicultural education programs. The younger children consistently had higher test scores than their older brothers and sisters who did not have the advantage of participating in a bilingual/bicultural education program.

Chicano legislators in office in 1974 (one State Senator and three State Representatives) became aware of the research being conducted by the Chicano Education Project and requested their assistance in drafting legislation to establish a state supported bilingual/bicultural education program.

In the meantime, the 1974 elections produced three additional Chicano legislators, one State Senator and two State Representatives, for a total of two Chicano Senators out of 35 and four Chicano Representatives

out of 65. But even more important, the 1974 elections produced a victory for a Democratic Governor and for the Democrats in the State House of Representatives. All four Chicano Representatives were Democrats and, as a consequence, eligible for leadership positions in the State House of Representatives.

Representative Ruben Valdez was elected Speaker of the House for the legislative session 1975-76. He, in turn, appointed Representative Leo Lucero as Chair of the House Education Committee and Representative Polly Baca Barragan as Vice Chair of the House Rules Committee.

Although the State Senate was controlled by Republicans and both Chicano Senators were Democrats, there was still the opportunity for a Democratic Senator to serve on the powerful six-member Joint Budget Committee (J.B.C.) composed of three Senators and three Representatives. Senator Paul Sandoval ran for the J.B.C. position and was elected to represent the Senate Democrats.

The election of Chicano legislators to powerful legislative leadership positions had a very positive effect on the progress of the State Bilingual/Bicultural Education Act that was introduced by the Chair of the House Education Committee, Rep. Leo Lucero.

The bill was assigned to the House Education Committee by speaker Valdez. The research developed by the Chicano Education Project was used by school people and Chicano parents in testimony before the House Education Committee. Community groups throughout the state were organized to write letters and make phone calls to their respective legislators.

After extensive hearings, the bill was passed favorably out of the House Education Committee and then out of the House Appropriations Committee and forwarded to the House Rules Committee where Vice Chair Polly Baca Barragan worked to have the legislation calendared for debate on the House floor at an early date. Speaker Valdez then used his influence to assure the favorable passage of the bill on the House floor.

In the State Senate, Senator Paul Sandoval was working within the Joint Budget Committee to gain the favor of its Chairman, Senator Joe Shoemaker, who was viewed as the most powerful person in the Senate. After extensive hearings, the bill was passed favorably out of the Senate Education Committee to the Senate Appropriations Committee which was chaired by Senator Joe Shoemaker. Senator Sandoval was ultimately able to make a deal with Senator Shoemaker and get his support for the bill, and the bill was passed favorably by the Senate Appropriations Committee.

Negotiations then began between Speaker Valdez and the Senate President to assure the positive passage of the bill on the Senate floor. The negotiations were successful and the bill was passed favorably by the Senate and sent to the Democratic Governor, Dick Lamm, for his approval and signature to become law.

Once the Colorado Bilingual/Bicultural Education Act became law, the battle began to provide adequate funds for the full implementation of the Act. Funds were appropriated for the initial implementation of the Act in 1976, but then the Democrats lost the majority in the House in the 1976 elections.

In 1977, the Republicans controlled both the House and the Senate, and the fiscal conservatives immediately began to try to cut the funds for the Bilingual/Bicultural Education Act. Their initial efforts in 1977 were defeated in committee. And in 1978, they were effectively prevented from introducing legislation to cut the funds because Governor Lamm did not list bilingual education as a subject matter that the legislature could consider that year. In even-numbered years, the Colorado Governor lists the subjects that the legislature can consider for introduction of bills.

The 1978 elections produced an even greater majority for Republicans in both houses and greater strength for the fiscal conservatives. They were successful in passing legislation to seriously damage the Bilingual/Bicultural Education Act. But Governor Lamm vetoed the original bill. A less offensive bill was then introduced and passed that cut some of the funding and eliminated the bicultural provisions of the act.

Although, the Governor did not list bilingual education as a subject matter to be considered during the 1980 legislative session, further cuts were made in the appropriation by the Joint Budget Committee.

The 1980 elections produced even more conservative legislators that began immediately to try to repeal the Bilingual Education Act. In a legislative maneuver, they substituted "English as a Second Language" (ESL) for the Bilingual Education Act despite the testimony of parents and teachers that the bilingual education program was superior.

Even though, the Chicano community lobbied the Governor extensively to veto the ESL bill which repealed the Bilingual Education Act, Governor Lamm allowed the bill to become law without his signature. The Chicano community and the nine Chicano legislators elected in 1980 had lost their fight to save Colorado's Bilingual Education Act.

In the final analysis, Colorado's Bilingual/Bicultural Education Act was a victim of a highly financed conservative movement to eliminate government supported programs and cut taxes. The conservative financial supporters of the Republican legislative majority was far more interested in cutting taxes and government expenditures than in providing a good educational program proven successful for Colorado's Chicano children in grades kindergarten through third. Although the Chicano community had continued to lobby extensively on behalf of the Bilingual Education Act over the six years, they had been unable to muster the financial resources and political power to defeat unfriendly legislators and replace them with legislators sympathetic to bilingual/bicultural education.

Index

- Affirmative action, 79-85, 217, 219
- Assimilationist tradition, 65
- Barrios, 7, 67, 119, 121-122, 127, 135, 162, 178, 179
- Burdine vs. Texas Department of Community Affairs, 81
- Capital
 - Capitalist hegemony, 124, 142
 - Human capital, 39, 42-45, 63, 88, 169
- Capitalism
 - Hegemony, 123, 131, 135
 - Capitalist patriarchy, 141, 142
 - Labor requirements of capitalism, 11, 122
- CETA, 41, 78, 86, 87, 221
- Children, 8, 79, 95, 97, 98, 109, 119, 121, 123, 125-129, 134-135, 142, 175-176, 196, 199, 215, 224, 229, 237, 240
- Civil Rights Act of 1964, 76, 81, 85
 - TITLE VI, 86
 - TITLE VII, 77, 81, 83
- Culture
 - Acculturation, 95, 99, 100, 107, 114
- Decision-making, 105, 106, 160, 162
- Differentiation, 98, 113, 116, 119, 133, 134, 135, 152, 153, 156, 178
- Discrimination, 15, 27, 41-43, 54-56, 59, 66-67, 76-84, 87, 88, 199, 206, 222, 231
- Economy
 - Structural dependence of U.S. economy, 193
- Employment
 - Discrimination, 78-79, 81, 83-86, 89
 - Earnings, 34, 35, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 61, 63, 86, 87
 - Employers, 10, 16, 21, 35, 42-43, 54, 56, 66, 69, 70, 76-78, 80-82, 84, 120, 173, 176, 189, 191-193, 195-198
 - Testing selection criteria, 85
- Exploitation, 22, 42-45, 63, 88, 199, 208
- Family
 - Casa-familia, 144
 - Extended family, 143-144
 - Familism, 113, 144
 - Family resistance, 106, 144
 - Family structure, 94, 97, 99, 102, 104-105, 109, 110, 143, 145

- Hegemonic institutions, 126, 131, 134
- Kin integrated family, 144
- Modified extended family, 146
- Parent-child relationships, 97, 123, 136
- Garcia vs. Gloor, 84
- Hispanic
 - Labor market, 86
 - Organizations, 212-213, 219, 223
 - Political appointees, 218
 - Policy issues, 213, 220, 222
 - Underrepresentation, 212-217, 219, 220
 - Unemployment, 80
- History
 - Historic goals, 53, 57, 60, 63, 65-66, 68
 - New social history, 28
 - Social, 12, 16, 28, 58, 129
 - Urban, 14, 26, 58
- Households
 - Nuclear household, 143
 - Size, 143
 - Tri-generational household, 144
- Immigrants
 - in Los Angeles and Southern California, 60, 117
 - in Texas, 16, 23
- Immigration
 - Foreign birth, 40-41
 - Mexican immigration, 10, 12, 24, 55, 118-119, 135, 188-189, 191, 193, 195, 197, 199, 202-205
 - National origin, 76-77, 82-83, 85
- Income, 25, 37-38, 41, 43, 55, 87, 104, 124, 129, 135, 165, 169, 173, 213, 222
- Job
 - experience, 39, 47
 - layoffs, 83, 86
 - protection, 82-83
 - satisfaction, 39
- Kinship networks, 143-145
- Labor
 - Community labor tradition, 69
 - History tradition, 53, 67

- Markets, 10, 26, 40, 42, 44-45, 153, 178, 181, 188, 193, 198, 206
- Migration, 156, 188, 193, 204-205, 208
- Organizing, 4, 5, 17, 28, 88
- Unions in U.S., 20, 167, 199
- Language
 - Discrimination, 82-83
 - Limited or non-English speakers, 86, 223, 226
- Location, 17, 40, 41, 43, 47, 56, 67, 78, 87, 116, 117, 161, 163, 172, 178, 215
- Machismo, 95-99, 101
- Male domination, 99, 142
- Mexican
 - Pueblos, 7
 - Women, 9, 19-20, 23, 24-27, 106, 115, 119, 122, 130-132, 141
- Mexico, 5, 7, 22, 28, 40, 45, 53-56, 68, 109, 113, 115, 117-120, 122, 125, 129-135, 143-144, 155, 157, 165-166, 171, 179, 190-191, 194, 195, 196, 198, 202-203, 205, 224, 235
- Migration
 - Internal, 150-153, 157-158, 162-164, 167, 170, 176-177, 179, 180-181, 203
 - Macro perspective on migration, 163-164
 - Micro perspective on migration, 159, 169
- Mobility
 - Inter-regional, 153-154, 157
 - Intra-regional 153-154, 157
 - Social, 14, 28, 57, 151, 158, 163, 169, 170, 178
- Occupational structure, 4-9, 13-14, 16-17, 25, 28, 56, 88
- Patriarchy, 114, 131, 141, 143, 145
- Political economy, 52, 53, 58, 59, 60, 64, 66, 115, 119, 124, 126, 131, 141, 142, 198
- Productivity, 16, 42, 43, 44, 190, 191
- Proletarianization, 12
- Public policy, 47, 67, 79, 88, 188, 200, 203-204, 210, 214-215, 220-227, 229-238
- Racial dualism, 15, 63, 86
- Reforms
 - Reformist tradition, 54, 65, 67
- Research
 - Assumptions, 14, 47, 67, 99-100, 103, 106, 114, 115, 143
 - Comparisons, 39, 88, 153, 172
 - Methods, 48, 108

- Needs, 29, 47, 109
- Traditions of, 52-53, 55, 57, 59, 61, 63, 65, 67, 69
- Residential distribution, 150-151, 153, 155, 157, 164, 166, 177, 181
- Roles
 - Family, 106, 140, 141
 - Gender, 141
 - Sex, 106, 107
- Roybal Act, 218
- Schooling, 35, 39, 40-41, 43-44, 47, 48, 123-124, 142, 171
- Senior executive service, 216
- Skills training program, 87
- Socialization, 94, 98, 115-116, 118, 121-122, 125, 127, 129-131, 133-135, 142
- Stereotypes, 94-95, 99, 100-101, 104, 106
- Structural subordination tradition, 57, 64, 65
- Technology
 - Mechanization, 129, 157, 190-194, 196
 - Techno-bureaucratic issues, 215
- Theory, 11, 13-14, 17, 28-29, 42-44, 53, 59, 64, 66, 88, 114, 192
- United States Steelworkers of America vs. Weber, 81
- Wage
 - Dual wage, 9, 10, 17
 - Segregation, 87
- Workers
 - Chicana workers, 5, 16, 18, 20-27
 - Chicano workers, 2, 4, 5, 7-11, 13-21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 34, 37, 40-43, 46, 55-56, 60-61, 63, 66, 69, 76-77, 79, 81, 83, 85, 87
 - Farmworkers, 123, 155, 163, 173, 175, 177-178, 187
 - Mexican workers, 4-11, 13-16, 18-23, 26, 53, 56, 60, 58, 120, 134, 157, 176-191, 196
- Working class, 4-9, 12-13, 17-18, 21-22, 23, 25-29, 56, 88, 123, 131, 143

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